

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1878.

## The Week.

THE Louisiana Returning Board trial has resulted in the conviction of Anderson with a recommendation to mercy, the jury having been out only forty minutes; the conviction was obtained entirely on the Mount Vernon parish returns. He has moved for a new trial on the ground that one of the two colored jurors was a minor, and that therefore the trial took place before eleven jurors, and also that one of the jurors had, a few days before the trial, expressed his belief in the prisoner's guilt. The result seems to make Wells's conviction certain, and appears to have thrown the "visiting statesmen" at Washington into a state of considerable excitement. Messrs. Sherman, Stanley Matthews, Garfield, Eugene Hale, and Harry White have united in a letter to Anderson, expressing their belief in his innocence, and in the falsehood and malice of his persecutors, and their hope that "the sense of justice and love of peace of the people of Louisiana will protect him." Mr. Sherman during the trial, we believe, wrote to him to the same effect, and is now loudly denouncing the court, the jury, and the people of Louisiana and the whole South to the newspaper reporters. The defence put forward for the prisoner by his Northern friends is that the jury was packed to convict; that the judge who tried the case is a defaulter to the United States Government to the extent of \$600,000; and that anyhow Anderson's offence, if real, is political, and ought to have been covered by President Hayes's goodness in setting up the Nicholls government.

The unseemliness of Mr. Sherman's course, as a Cabinet officer, in denouncing a State court during the progress of a trial, and writing sympathizing letters to the prisoner, is, of course, apparent to everybody. But it is the natural and inevitable result of his first indiscretion as a United States Senator in going down to meddle in a local election, the result of which was very likely to come before him as a judge in Congress, and in point of fact did eventually do so. Neither he nor Messrs. Garfield and Hale had any business to turn "visiting statesmen," or to form part of any partisan body appointed to superintend a Presidential election in a distant State. The commission appointed by General Grant to go to Louisiana during the count ought to have been composed of men of high standing of both parties, and not of the active, expectant friends of one of the candidates. Therefore the sweeping certificate of character which the "statesmen" gave the Returning Board did not win popular confidence for their performances, and gave the "statesmen" the air of confederates in the eyes of those who believed the Board guilty of fraud. For all these reasons, and others, the new certificate will not now help Anderson; and it follows the first one as a matter of course. We may add that the appointment of Wells, Anderson, and their clerks as custom-house officers after all that had occurred, and in view of the fact that half the voters of the United States believed them knaves, was not only not "civil-service reform," but was just the thing to keep up popular irritation in Louisiana, and provoke the legal attack on them which is now proving successful. It is, perhaps, well for the cause of reform, however, that these little compromise measures, of which the President seems so fond, should not succeed. He will yet have to make his reform "thorough, radical, and complete," or succumb.

As to the character of Judge Whittaker, who presided at the Anderson trial, it is difficult, with the means at our disposal, to pronounce any definite opinion on the charge of defalcation made against him. He is a native of Massachusetts, and the case against him is that, being Assistant Treasurer in New Orleans in 1866, his

cash was found "short" by about \$1,100,000, which he accounted for in part or in whole by having deposited it in a national bank which failed, and with the managers of which he was accused of complicity. Being indicted and tried for the same, he was honorably acquitted, his friends say, by the jury without leaving their seats; while his enemies aver that this hasty action of the jury was taken in the teeth of the evidence, owing to their being "unrepentant rebels." That he may have defaulted and Anderson still be guilty is, however, not impossible or improbable, as Secretary Sherman apparently thinks.

In any case, a judge that is good enough for the people of the State is good enough for the Returning Board. It is shocking, no doubt, to have a defaulter on the bench—if defaulter he be—but it is on behalf of the whole community that the thing is to be protested against by outsiders, if at all. There is nothing in Anderson's case or Wells's to entitle them to be tried by an exceptionally pure man. Judge Whittaker's charge lies before us, and appears to be extremely careful and fair. The principal point in Anderson's defence is that the forgeries and alterations in the Mount Vernon returns were done by Littlefield, the clerk, to qualify himself to be a Democratic witness, and no language seems to be considered too strong on the part of the "visiting statesmen" in describing the badness of his character. They are right in this; but he was appointed by the Returning Board with a full knowledge of his character. When they gave him the place he was a noted loafer in "stables and bar-rooms," according to his own account, and held a sinecure in the New Orleans Custom-house at \$83 a month; of the other clerks, four were under indictment, one for murder and another for obtaining money under false pretences. We believe they are all now, except Littlefield, lodged in the custom-house. That Anderson had less to do with this dirty work than Wells, or perhaps left it all to him, we think is very likely; he is a much more respectable man. That Wells did it cheerfully is not surprising; General Sheridan testified as early as 1867 "that he had not an honest man among his friends." The thing for the President and Cabinet to do now is to let the law take its course. They are not responsible in any manner or form for the doings of State courts, and threats and denunciations will be both unseemly and mischievous. Any embarrassment there is in the situation falls on Mr. Sherman, and he fairly merits it.

The most important contributions to the financial discussion during the week have been a letter of Mr. Belmont's and a speech of Senator Hill, of Georgia, the "Ben Hill" whom Butler was elected "to take care of." The letter is in terms a severe castigation of Mr. Hendricks, who seems to be running a race in demagoguery and tergiversation with Mr. Thurman, of Ohio, either of whom is apparently ready to say anything to be on the side of the majority, and both of whom will soon have changed opinions so often as to endanger their sense of personal identity. Mr. Belmont convicts the worthy Hendricks of having in 1874 or 1875—that is, after the demonetization of silver—maintained that the public debt was payable "exclusively in gold," but he now says that when he said "exclusively in gold" he meant "silver," or "silver or gold." What he will say he meant a year hence, of course nobody knows. After disposing of Hendricks, the writer goes on to show that the Act of 1873 was really a pledge to the public creditor, waiving the right to pay in silver; that the right now claimed by the Bland Bill to repeal it and pay in silver, silver having greatly depreciated, is the assertion of a power over private property which a czar or sultan would not dare to claim, and that if this act is not binding on the public conscience, to other is; that the power of Congress over the coinage has to be exercised within the restrictions imposed by the national faith towards its creditors; that the steadiness given to the United States

bonds by the Act of 1873 has been of enormous benefit, owing to the fact that the \$1,300,000,000 out of \$1,726,000,000 which, according to the best estimates, are held in this country, and nineteen-twentieths of them by savings-banks, trust companies, and private estates, have thus during the last three years of financial disaster been saved from the terrible depreciation which has overtaken every other species of property. He further shows how the perpetration of the pending silver fraud will increase our present burden of interest, and will, by robbing us of our gold and deluging us with foreign silver, put it out of our power to reach bi-metallism in the only permanent way, by concert with foreign nations. The letter ought to be circulated among those of the silver-men who are still in even partial possession of their reason.

Senator Hill's speech was "ringing," and, while eulogizing silver, proposed to make it a legal tender only for amounts under \$100. He denounced the Bland Bill in strong terms, declaring it "the pickpocket bill of American legislation." He was also very severe upon those who hold that because we were glad to borrow money during the war at sixty cents on the dollar, we are now entitled, in spite of our bargain, to pay the bonds off in depreciated currency, no matter in whose hands we find them, or what the holder may have paid for them. Some of the remarks which the friends of honest courses have to make on this subject have the simplicity of the exhortation of a prison chaplain to a band of recently-arrived convicts. Mr. Hill's peroration is worth quoting and remembering, especially by the constituency which sent Butler up to Washington:

"There was but one patriotic course for Congress to pursue—call back the people to an honest renewed recognition of the obligations of contract; teach the present generation, teach all generations, that fidelity to truth and law was the best religion, the wisest statesmanship, and the truest patriotism."

Mr. Conkling has not spoken on the Silver Bill, and it is now said that he is going to reserve himself for the debate after the veto. The probability is, however, that he is so absorbed in studying "the mechanism of government," as the *Tribune* says, that he has no time for the products of government. He and others like him enjoy the working of the loom so much that the kind of cloth produced has no interest for them. There are sinister rumors from Washington that there need be no difficulty in sustaining the President's veto, if he will only intimate to certain Senators that he needs their votes on the usual terms; which reminds one of a duel that occurred in California the other day, where, after the first fire, one of the combatants offered to "settle" for \$275, and not a cent less. The Senate, in fact, seems to be getting into the condition of the Praetorian guards or the Janissaries, who, in their later days, would never fight without largesses of some kind. At present Senators require offices before they will consent to legislate; as the years roll on they will probably take their compensation in produce, or negotiable securities, or plain money.

It would be nearly correct to say that Congress has during the week not advanced the public business a single step. Everything waits on the passage of the Bland Bill in the Senate, and the debate has still no visible end. Mr. Blaine delivered himself on Thursday, and has since learned, what he might have known before, that the compromiser with his plumper though still short-weight dollar excites the rage of the silver-men even more than the out-and-out "goldite." The Cincinnati *Commercial* calls his plan "the meanest and most foolish and insolent proposition that has come before the American people." The speech was a wasted "effort," except as a test of character. Besides Senator Hill, of Georgia, another Democrat, Senator Kernan, of New York, took his stand on the side of the national honor, on Wednesday week, on which day also Senator Christy introduced a well-meaning substitute for the Bland Bill, providing an awkward *modus vivendi* for the two metals, with gold as the standard, and the Senate chaplain made his contribution to the discussion by reminding the Almighty in his prayer that "the silver and the gold are Thine, and thine

cattle upon a thousand hills"—an argument which has an equal bearing on the duties on hides. On Tuesday the Senate passed a bill which promises to lead to enlarged or wholly new accommodations for the National Library, and a bill for the purchase of the Freedman's Bank Building, by which depositors will be gainers. The House has rejected a Southern war-claim by a non-partisan vote, and has refused to amend the Military Academy Appropriation Bill by cutting off the extra pay of first lieutenants employed as instructors.

"Adjustment" is still the preoccupation of the Virginia Legislature, nor does an agreement between both houses, or between them and the public creditor, seem highly probable. While the House is considering with favor a gross repudiation measure, the Senate has passed a milder one, which provides for the issue of new four per cent. bonds dated July 1, 1878, payable in thirty-four years, but redeemable after ten, and with semi-annual coupons receivable for most State dues and taxes unless in time of war or rebellion. For these the holders of various classes of consolidated bonds, having already tax-receivable coupons at a higher rate of interest, may (which means *must*) exchange the latter; and when this exchange amounts to three-fourths of the consolidated debt, the so-called "peeler" bonds may be likewise exchanged for their face, and other unfunded bonds and stock for two-thirds their face. This is regarded by Virginians who desire the State to fulfil its obligations as a respectable and honorable proposition, and as, at all events, a pledge that the more unblushing designs of the House must fail to receive the Senate's approval. They lay great stress on the tax-receivable coupons, and apparently the holders of the non-consolidated debt may find in this a security which will compensate them for the docking they receive in principal or interest or both; but of course this security has no real basis. The admission of the right of the State to force its creditors to accept less than they were promised leaves their claims at the mercy of the first rascally legislature, which may begin by taking away the receivability of the coupons. That such contracts differ in kind from private contracts has been openly asserted in the Virginia House, which has been asked by one of its members to declare its opinion that the United States Constitutional prohibition against State legislation impairing the obligation of contracts applies "only to the case of private contracts, and not to the public debts of this Commonwealth." General Taliaferro admitted that this interpretation was in accordance with the contemporaneous views of Governor Randolph and Luther Martin, but opposed it as a long since judicially-branded heresy.

It cannot be said that the integrity of Virginia suffers as yet in comparison with that of South Carolina. In 1874 this State arranged a settlement with its creditors under a consolidation act which reduced the debt from about \$16,000,000 to \$6,000,000. This was not a wanton procedure, but rested upon the well-known fraudulent character of a large and indeterminable proportion of the bonds issued under the carpet-bag régime. Very likely the State profited as much as she was entitled to, especially at the expense of innocent holders; at all events there was supposed to be an end to all further question about the validity of the debt when once the consolidation securities were issued. Now, however, the Bond Commission makes a long report to the Legislature, and though it can find less than a thousand dollars' worth of consolidated securities that have been issued otherwise than "in proper form," it declares that only about \$1,600,000 of them are absolutely good, while the rest are tainted. The explanation of the taint goes back to the doubtful character of some of the bonds exchanged for these securities—in other words, to the very occasion and basis of the compromise made in 1874 with the State's creditors. This is a very remarkable mode of impairing obligations, and one to which there is no end or limit. Another concession of 50 per cent. by the creditor, leading to a fresh issue of consolidated bonds, will after a little interval call for another commission, another "going behind the record," and a third repudiation, and so on.

It is clear that the Virginian adjusters have something to learn from South Carolina; and so, let us add, have all compromising creditors.

The events of the week which most concern Wall Street have been the silver debate in the Senate, the war news and its effect on the London money market, and the differences between the trunk-line railroads. The silver debate has not made any clearer the question whether the 412½-grain dollar will be restored as a full legal tender, and reports at the close of the week are as conflicting as ever. In this city the prevailing opinion is, however, that there will be some providential intervention—exactly in what form no one seems capable of even guessing—to prevent such a consummation. Between the conflicting opinions gold has stood at 101½ to 102½. The agitation of the London market in consequence of the Russian advance upon Constantinople made consols fluctuate between 96½ and 95½, closing near the lowest price. According to the vote of the £6,000,000 asked for by the Government for military and naval purposes, this extra credit is to take the form of an issue of Exchequer bills; they will relieve the London market, to the extent of their issue, of an equal amount of surplus money which is now weighing down the discount rate in that market. U. S. bonds continue to return home from the European markets, and, large as is the amount that has already arrived, it has thus far proved insufficient to pay for our heavy exports, and some gold has been sent here; the amount started from London for New York during the week was little, if any, less than \$1,750,000. The trunk-line railroad managers have found it impossible to arrange so as to prevent discrimination against New York on Western-bound freights. In Eastern-bound freight one or two large receivers of grain here have special arrangements which enable them to monopolize the business. Report says that they pay 20¢ to 22½ cts. per 100 lbs., while the schedule rate is 40 cts. The merchants are becoming aroused, and a lively "war" is expected even before the reopening of navigation. At the close of the week the gold value of the paper dollar was \$0.9893; and the gold value of the 412½-grain silver dollar would have been \$0.9029.

The Pope died on Thursday last in his eighty-sixth year. We have made an attempt elsewhere to fix his relations to the great political and ecclesiastical changes which occurred during his reign. His death is of great importance as being likely to force on the Cardinals the decision of the question whether the Church shall now relegate herself to a purely spiritual rôle, and give up the hankering after a restoration of the temporal power which has kept her in hot water ever since 1870; and the necessity for this decision will probably exert a powerful influence on the Conclave. But the question is not nearly so important as it would have been even five years ago. Germany has been so successful in her war against the Ultramontanes that Bismarck is said not to care what the Conclave does. The powerful effort made by the clericals to seize the Government in France, probably in preparation for this very juncture, has totally failed, and the party now in power is probably as indifferent as the Germans. The same thing may be said of Austria and, though in a less degree, of Spain. In fact, the only Catholic Power which is thought likely to wish to use the veto to which they are all entitled is the little kingdom of Portugal. The only other question of interest is whether, now that the temporal power is gone, the Italian cardinals will be willing to let a foreigner into the Chair of St. Peter, in recognition of the changed relation of the Pope to the world. It is not likely, however, that they will do so; the church organization is their work, and perhaps the most splendid monument of Italian genius, greater even than the Roman Empire; and they will probably be unwilling to have it carried through the present crisis by other than Italian hands.

There is no doubt that at this writing the relations between Russia and England have passed into a phase of such delicacy that

a very slight indiscretion on either side may bring on war. Great excitement was produced in England towards the close of last week by the news that the Russians had entered Constantinople, and it removed the Liberal opposition to the vote for the army and navy and produced a good deal of warlike frenzy in the London mob, and led to the breaking of Mr. Gladstone's windows and those of the *Daily News*. What had really happened was that the Russians had occupied the Turkish line of defences across the peninsula, at Tehadallye, seventeen miles from the capital, so that during the negotiations they were to have the city at their mercy. This really made little difference, as the Turks had no army to hold the line, and the defeat of Suleiman Pasha was virtually equivalent to the fall of the city; but it was accompanied by great reticence on the part of the Russian Government as to the terms of the armistice, and was followed by an intimation from Prince Gortchakoff to the British minister at St. Petersburg that the terms concerned nobody but the belligerents. What was worse still was that news came from Adrianople which made it very plain that Turkey had determined on a total change of policy, had thrown England overboard, and was likely to enter into a close alliance with Russia. On this the fleet was ordered to Constantinople "to protect the life and property of the Christians," and the Sultan was asked for a firman to open the Dardanelles, which was at first refused on the ground that if the fleet came up the Russians would enter the city, but has probably been by this time conceded. St. Petersburg despatches say that this contingency has been provided for in the Russian instructions to the generals commanding in the field, and that if the British fleet comes up the army will occupy the city and receive the British Admiral with great cordiality. This is the situation which at this writing seems likely to be created before the end of the week. The fleet and army will then be face to face, both in a state of considerable irritation, and each with an enraged public at home egging it on; and the slightest misunderstanding on the spot may bring on war.

That Russia has acted with an appearance of sharpness in the matter there is no question. The Emperor pledged himself that he would not occupy Constantinople, except as a military necessity, in order to compel the Turks to submit. The Turks having submitted while the invading army was still north of Adrianople, it was doubtless expected in London that it would come no farther southward, but that peace would be made at Adrianople. The Grand Duke, however, took a broader view of the matter, and concluding, not unreasonably, that the cutting off and defeat of Suleiman's army virtually put the capital at his mercy, determined to get within reach of it before he began to negotiate, so as to preclude the Turks from organizing any fresh resistance behind the fortified lines. While, therefore, he received the envoys at Kezanlik with great courtesy, and began talking peace with them, he carried them gently along with him on his march southward, and managed not to have the armistice concluded until he had reached Tehadallye, at the same time sending very meagre information to St. Petersburg of what he was doing, lest he might be interfered with. This is all, undoubtedly a little sharp, but it is what might have been expected and what any other Power would have done under the circumstances. The political crisis it has brought on in London is little short of ludicrous. It appears to have been expected that Russia, at the close of a bloody war, in which she has lost 100,000 men and disordered her finances, would, after having brought the Turk to his knees, be as moderate and conciliatory and as careful of all collateral interests as she was at the Conference in Constantinople last year, and be ready to take England into partnership on equal terms and to submit the terms of peace to her for revision. There appears, too, to be a strong belief in England that the fleet can blow Russia out of Turkey, especially now that the Danubian fortresses, Widdin, Ristchuk, Belgradshik, and Silistria, are in her hands. If any Power can compel her to retire it is Austria, but Austria will not fight for a trifle, and will certainly not fight for "British interests."



## THE DESTRUCTION OF CONFIDENCE BY THE SILVER MOVEMENT.

THE great and, within the last three months, increasing number of failures both of individuals and of banks and other moneyed corporations, following on four years of deep depression and widespread financial disaster, would of itself be sufficient to make the return of better times slow and difficult. For the thing which brings back "good times," and keeps them good, is confidence, and confidence means the belief of those who have money not only that it is secure in their hands to-day, but that they may part with it by loan or investment with a reasonable certainty that in one, five, or ten years they will receive back what they gave and enjoy a fair profit on its use in the interval. In no country in the world has this confidence existed in so high a degree during the last sixty years as in this, and in no country has it produced such wonderful prosperity. Nothing like the natural progress of the United States since the beginning of the present century has ever been recorded in industrial history, and this progress has not been due simply, or even principally, to richness of natural resources or wideness of area. The soil is as rich in all ways in Mexico and South America, and in Russia, as here; the climate is as salubrious, and the area open to agriculture for all practical purposes as large. But for want of the last and greatest of all blessings, the blessing of security for savings against vexation or spoliation whether by legal or illegal means, no other nation, however gifted by nature, has grown as this nation. In no other has that splendid confidence in the future which we call "energy and enterprise" been developed in so high a degree; to no other shores has there been that flocking of the most industrious and adventurous spirits of every nationality, which has made the records of American immigration so marvellous a story. There have been plenty of financial disasters within the last eighty years, it is true. There have been "hard times" before now, and the recovery after the collapse of 1837 was very slow; but our present trouble differs from all crises which have preceded it in this, that the standard of value has never in any other been dragged into the political arena, and made the football of political parties. There have been various kinds of currency afloat since the Revolution, good, bad, and indifferent, but behind them all there lay gold and silver coin of steady purchasing power, which nobody thought of meddling with for political purposes, and by which the industry of the country readjusted itself after the various forms of paper inflation had failed.

The trifling changes which have been made in the coinage since 1792 have been made until now by experts, with reference simply to the proper supply of small change and the maintenance of durable monetary relations with other countries. That Congress could meddle with the standard of value, or exercise any discretion in the creation of legal tender, for political convenience, or the convenience of any particular class of the community, was something never dreamed of until the outbreak of the war. Indeed it seems a fair question whether, as suggested by our correspondent, Mr. Sterne, on another page, the power of deciding whether gold and silver should be the unit of value was not reserved to the States by the Constitution, and whether Congress has any right to meddle with the standard at all—whether its function is not confined to coining money and fixing the value of the different coins *in relation to each other*. Taken in any other sense the Constitution would give Congress the right to fix the purchasing power of money—or, in other words, to say how much of any other commodities a particular coin is worth, which is absurd. The "value" of a coin means its value in other coins. The notion that Congress could control the standard of value and make anything it pleased a legal tender came in during the agony and peril of the civil war, and served its purpose at the time; but no man who looks into our financial history since then, and who examines intelligently the situation in which we are now placed, can help regarding it as one of the greatest calamities which ever befell a commu-

cial community, and as likely to give confidence a blow from which it will not recover for many years, and which may permanently diminish our rate of material growth. Between 1865 and 1872 the chance of escape from it offered itself by a rapid funding and redemption of the greenbacks while they were still popularly regarded as promissory notes, and before the politicians had begun to perceive fully the use which might be made of the power of issuing them. That great opportunity was allowed to slip by, owing to General Grant's having put in charge of the Treasury at this most critical moment a very ignorant politician, who wasted precious millions, and years more precious still, in redeeming bonds not due. From the consequences of that mistake, which it is no exaggeration to call frightful, we are now suffering. The standard of value has got down into the political arena, and a question which is almost as delicate and almost as independent of legislation as a mathematical problem, and which is fit to be dealt with by nobody but experts, is being decided by a count of noses, has become a text for all the demagogues in the country, and has filled the minds of millions of the needy and unthinking with the possibility of vast improvements in their condition by legislative money tricks. This situation is grave, and the issue from it is not easy to foresee; but the first step towards escape is to be found in a clear perception of its gravity on the part of the intelligent and industrious, and a clear recognition of the fact that it is unprecedented; that, therefore, the complacent optimism which says we shall get out of this scrape as easily as we have got out of others like it before, is no longer warrantable. We have never been in any scrape like this before.

The possibilities with which it is filling the popular imagination in some parts of the country have produced a kind of insanity in which demagogues are revelling. It has, all accounts agree, ceased to be of any use to argue with the silver-men; the very facts which to the rational and sober-minded portion of the community furnish the strongest argument against the performances with which Congress is threatening us, are to them arguments in their favor. The hostility of all the merchants and bankers and solvent traders to the Bland Bill they regard not as the judgment of competent critics, but as the natural dismay of a parcel of tricksters and gamblers at the prospect of having to disgorge and make compensation to their victims. The rapidly-multiplying failures they treat not as signs that the bill will prove mischievous, but as proofs that it should be passed as speedily as possible. The rapid return of United States bonds from Europe and their fall in the foreign markets they jeer at as devices of the "Money Power" to secure the fruits of its conspiracy in 1873 and defeat the great popular effort to undo its work. In fact, the ordinary weapons of persuasion are at this moment as powerless with the majority in Congress and at the West as they would be in a lunatic asylum, or as they were during the madness of 1792 or of 1871 in Paris. When General Trochu refrained during the siege from sending the National Guard to attack the Germans outside, they said the "*gréin*" was in league with the enemy, and did not like to let loose the only force which meant fighting. When at last he sent them out and they got a sound thrashing, they said the villain had sent them out because he loved to see "the people" slaughtered. In like manner, everything which now happens is to the silver-men a trick of the "goldites"; if silver is scarce, it is the result of their "plot"; if it grows too plentiful, it is the result of their spite and malice. In fact, those who are charged with the discussion of this question would be fairly justified in throwing down their arms, and pronouncing discussion useless. It is apparently the doctor rather than the logician or economist who is now needed.

There are some reasons for fearing that out of this weariness and despair further mischief may result if they produce anything like acquiescence. Some of the supporters of sound currency in the press—the Cincinnati *Gazette*, for instance—are already preparing for total surrender, by saying that this is a people's government, and that if the people decide to remonetize silver, the only thing to be done is to accept their decision and do our best to make



the silver standard a success. It is in this spirit that our greatest danger now lies. The silver movement cannot be made successful by your exertions, brethren. The standard of value is not a question of taste, or philanthropy, or majorities. It is something which neither legislation, nor heroism, nor patriotism can reach. There is, therefore, no use in your "bowing to the popular will" about it. You might as well bow to the popular will about the properties of the circle. If "the people" could settle this question there never would have been any good reason for opposing the silver movement, or any attempt to doctor the currency, for all that would be needed to justify any expedient and make it succeed would be a popular majority in its favor. If we remonetize silver, we shall lose our stock of gold and be deluged with French and German silver, no matter how pious we are; if we pay our bonds or interest in silver we shall lose our credit for a century, no matter what the people say or think. If we part with our gold, as Mr. Belmont showed in his excellent letter the other day, the hope of creating the double standard by concert with the European Powers, the only feasible mode of doing it, will be destroyed, for we shall not have the means of resorting to it.

Moreover, we must not suppose that by accepting the Bland Bill, and making the best of it, we shall satisfy the silver fanatics. On the contrary, there is every reason for believing that we shall embolden them to try other experiments of the same sort. The silver movement began with rational bi-metallists; it has been ever since passing more and more into the hands of extreme men who are burdened with no financial theories whatever, and whose ultimate aim is repudiation and unlimited government money of some sort; and any sign of submission will give this class more and more strength and enterprise, and spread the poison of communism, already very rife, further through the ranks of the workingmen. In addition to this, too, it will probably take a year or two to demonstrate fully the folly of the measure. These two years will be years of alarm and uncertainty and commercial disaster, and before they are passed the timidity of capital will have increased, the reluctance to embark in any new enterprise or to lend money will have spread, and we shall have to try the next experiment in the midst of a paralysis and confusion of which our present condition gives but a slight idea. What wisdom calls for now is that we shall resist still, and to the utmost, at every stage. If the bill is passed over the President's veto, or he should be captivated by any of the "compromises" now offered, such as Mr. Blaine's or Mr. Christiancy's, every effort should be made to localize the folly by State legislation. The same States, which contain the capital of the country and most of its manufacturing industry, such as New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, should legislate promptly, making gold exclusively the standard of value, and, if thought desirable, making silver a legal tender at its bullion value in gold. This would meet the lunatics and criminals with the only argument which lunatics and criminals understand—the argument of impossibility. It would save the business of the country from a prodigious aggravation of the existing disorder, and would cause a restoration of confidence, by removing that dread of the wild-cat majorities in Congress which is now so fatal to all enterprise.

#### PIUS THE NINTH.

THE death of Pius IX. has produced more sensation than that of any of his predecessors in modern times, partly owing to the length of his reign, which of itself gave him a certain pre-eminence over them, but mainly owing to the trials through which the Papacy has passed under his rule. Pius VII. excited a good deal more sympathy throughout Europe, and undoubtedly played the rôle of a martyr with more dignity and patience; but then this sympathy was largely made up of hatred of Napoleon. Outside the comparatively small politico-religious sect known as "Ultramontanes," the sufferings of Pius IX. have called out nothing that can be called commiseration. His fulminations, too, against the "sub-Alpine monarch," as he called Victor Emmanuel, for despoiling him of the patrimony of the Church, have

been deprived of all weight by the belief, which has long been widely diffused among those who were most interested in Papal matters, that these fulminations were purely official; that privately the Pope esteemed Victor Emmanuel; and that he had retained through all the stormy years which had elapsed since he himself first roused the enthusiasm of the Italian Liberals, in 1848, a soft place in his heart for the gallant king who had at last rid Italian soil of foreign rulers—who had, in short, accomplished the work which he, in the first moments of his pontificate, had dreamed that, priest as he was, he might share. It may be fairly questioned, too, whether his abandonment of the Liberal cause in 1848 was not an absolute necessity of his position—whether, defended as it was then, it was possible for anybody who was *ex-officio* conservative to help it; for it must be admitted that, legitimate as was the great uprising of that year, and ripe for it as Europe was, the materials for success of any kind did not exist in the Liberal ranks. The leaders of the movement in every country were mostly either conspirators embittered by persecution, or speculative philosophers who had dreamed so much as to have lost their sense of the possible. In Italy, in Germany, and in France the situation was essentially the same. The popular movement was headed by half-crazed zealots, of whom the military men took easy reckoning as soon as they had recovered from their first surprise, and at whose head a High-Priest professing to represent the most stable of all institutions, and to speak with the voice of indisputable Authority, would have cut a figure almost farcical. It is not to Pio Nono's discredit that he should have quickly recognized his mistake, but there are many reasons for believing that he never wholly cast out the noble aspiration which led him into it, and that the booming of the Italian guns at Palestro and Custoza rekindled in the old man's breast the smouldering fire of the earlier days.

His prolonged and, considering everything, remarkably successful efforts to strengthen the purely spiritual authority of the Papacy look, now that the amazement they at first excited is over, like a recognition on his part of the fact that the temporal power was soon to leave him, and that as a purely spiritual chief he might make demands on the faith and obedience of believers which, when trammelled with responsibilities of a grossly misgoverned principality, he could not decently put forward. The French occupation he must have recognized as a mere preface to his final overthrow as a secular potentate. It left his rule a mere name; and the presence of the king at Florence was a sure sign that he was really on his way to Rome, and that the union of Italy under one head was not only inevitable but near. Mad as the performances of the Vatican Council seemed at the time, would anybody pass the same judgment on them now that he did then? The authority it claimed for the Church and its earthly head then certainly appeared monstrous, not because its propositions were any more abstruse or indigestible than many others already firmly embedded in the body of Roman theology, but because it was supposed that the Catholic mind was no longer as receptive towards dogma as it once was, and that the promulgation of fresh and startling truths would too severely strain the faith of the faithful. It certainly seems now as if the Pope in this matter had been wiser than his critics. The dissent and insubordination which showed themselves immediately after the Council, and which then seemed so formidable, have almost faded out of sight. The Old-Catholic movement, from which so much was expected, has come to nothing. When such leaders as Dr. Dollinger and Bishop Reinkens—already old men—disappear, it is probable we shall never hear much more of their following. On the other hand, as far as the rest of the Church is concerned, the infallibility proclamation has acted very much like the successful quelling of a mutiny or an insubordinate army. It has broken in the clergy and the laity to a submission and discipline they have never known before. It has made resistance of any kind to Papal authority look more hopeless than it has ever looked before. It has completely extirpated all the traditions of the national churches, and converted the Papacy into a true spiritual Caesarism, whose law-making power no man disputes any longer.

It is true, doubtless, that the success of the Ultramontanes has been due in a measure to the existence of a state of things which at first sight seems unfavorable to all spiritual authority. The Old Catholics have failed not because the world is more disposed now than ever to submit to prelatial pretensions, but because the indifference about dogma is very great, and the hostility to it not strong enough to make men take much trouble to display it. In Luther's day, when a man revolted against the church he was bred in, he could not be satisfied without setting up another. In ours he does not care enough about the matter to supply himself with a new organization. He simply goes his way, keeps his belief to himself, and if there is no church to suit him he connects himself with none. The prevalence of this lukewarmness takes the life out of all dissent, and makes the promulgation of new doctrines comparatively easy. On the other hand, the really earnest and sincere believers, who in other days would have had a sore struggle in accepting anything so strange and non-rational as the Pope's infallibility—that is, the large body of Christians who are ready enough to inherit articles of faith, however strange, but do not like adding to the number themselves—are in our time too much troubled about the whole fabric of belief to care much about any alterations in it that do not seem to imperil it. They are frightened by Materialism, frightened by the assaults made not on the Catholic Church only, but on all faith in the supernatural and invisible, and shrink back with horror from the world which modern Science seems to offer them, in which Memory would seem an encumbrance, Hope would have nothing to feed on, and Love itself become the seed of useless pain. To these—and they are a great host—the pretensions, however exorbitant, of any institution which seems to stand for and maintain the connection between the visible and invisible world, and to guarantee man's immortality, are readily forgiven, even if they are not applauded. They are a host, too, whose ranks will be easily and largely recruited as long as bread is won in bitterness and sorrow, and in every human life "the sweet bells of morning" cease to ring at noon.

The Pope was perhaps, therefore, more a man of his time than he seemed to most of us ten years ago, and yet he was the last and greatest relic of the Middle Ages. We shall never again see a compound of the priest and king, or the strange spectacle which he, good and gentle as he was, afforded us of earthly battalions in the pay of Christ's representative raking his enemies with repeating rifles, and sacking towns *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Perugia and Monte Rotondo left "damned spots" on the Pope's white hands which all the waters of Jordan could not wash out, and yet they were but projections into modern society of ideas which fifteen centuries of theological cultivation of morals had sanctioned, and which to the whole Catholic world to-day have nothing strange or shocking in them. Fifty years hence they will seem as atrocious as heretic-burning, and our descendants will be reading of the temporal papacy as we now read of the Order of St. John or of the Knights Templars. The death of Victor Emmanuel and of the Pope and the dismemberment of Turkey in the same year may be said to mark the close of an era. With them the Old Europe left by the treaties of 1815 has finally passed away, and a new Europe with new problems to solve and new forces at work, both social and religious, has taken its place. As we see it, those of us who can recall the Europe of 1848, in which both Pío Nono and Victor Emmanuel first appeared on the scene, must acknowledge that the gains of the thirty years have been very great. It is not only that new states have arisen on the ruins of mediæval despotisms, but that the friends of progress have been sobered and disciplined by experience. Those who now long for better things see with clearer eyes and labor with steadier hands. It is pleasant to remember this when one recalls the vast and flaming battle-fields on which the old régime passed away. It is pleasant to remember that the year which witnesses the death of the last temporal Pope and of the first King of Italy will probably witness also the final extirpation of Asiatic rule on European soil.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON CITY GOVERNMENT.

THE last Legislature passed the Amendment to the Constitution providing a general plan of municipal government for the cities of this State. It has to be passed by the present Legislature also, in order to be prepared for submission to the people at the next election, and at this writing it seems likely that the present Legislature will not pass it. The amendment may be said to have met with the approval of all that portion of the community which really desires to see city government improved, except as regards the fifth section, which provides for the election of a Board of Finance by taxpayers exclusively. The well-meaning who object to this do so either on the ground that this restriction of the suffrage would not raise the character of the board, or on the ground that, whether it would or not, no amendment with this restriction on it has any chance of adoption by the people. To meet the views of this class it has been proposed and advocated by Mr. Bradford Prince that the suffrage section shall be submitted as a separate amendment, so that it may be voted on without endangering the remainder, which is acknowledged to contain valuable features. But certain members of the bar, belonging to the Committee of Fifty organized for the support of the amendment as reported by the Commission, have written an opinion, in which Judge Comstock concurs, that this Legislature has no power to break up the amendment and submit it in parts; that it must submit it as it received it from its predecessor, and that any such change as is proposed would make it a new and different one, which, in its turn, would have to receive the approval of two Legislatures before being voted on by the people. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that it will either be submitted as it is, or be allowed to drop.

It is easy to understand why the Legislature should be unwilling itself to embody it in the Constitution, if it had the power to do so; why it should be unwilling to submit it to a popular vote is tolerably hard for the ordinary mind to comprehend. All those who think the suffrage section ought not to be adopted, no matter for what reason, are, as far as our observation goes, sure that it will not be adopted, so that the submission would be to them at worst nothing more than an act of common courtesy to the very large and respectable body of citizens who believe in it, and to the Commission which gave a good deal of time and labor to framing it. The only thing that its opponents can possibly fear from the submission, therefore, is that it would pain the people to be asked to vote on anything of the kind. But is not this taking a very superline and wholly unreal view of popular susceptibilities? Nobody who knows the people of this State really supposes that their feelings would be hurt by being asked to cast their ballots about anything not frivolous or ridiculous. On the contrary, if the proposal of the Commission be as offensive to the popular feeling as many politicians think it is, the voters will be glad to have a chance of formally stamping it with their disapproval, and in this way the matter would be finally set at rest and the responsibility of rejecting the plan of the Commission placed on the only shoulders competent or authorized to assume it. For we have no hesitation in saying that, considering the increasing gravity of the problem of city government in this State, nobody but the people at large ought to venture to reject any well-considered and properly authorized attempt to solve it. It is not claiming too much for the report of the Commission to say that it is such an attempt. What the people think about the matter is something on which the wisest and shrewdest politicians may be mistaken; we know what blunders this class occasionally make as to the drift of popular sentiment. When the popular judgment can be so readily had, it seems unreasonable and unwarrantable to refuse to ask for it, particularly when, if obtained, it might serve as a useful guide in subsequent efforts to provide our cities with a better government.

The report of the Commission shows beyond dispute that the proposed mode of electing the Board of Finance is no innovation; that the principle on which it is based has long been recognized in



the government of the smaller municipalities of the State. We have drawn attention in these columns to the various devices adopted in all the charter legislation of the last twenty years, such as commissions and boards of apportionment, to withdraw the city funds in whole or in part from the control of universal suffrage; or, in other words, to do covertly or by indirection what the amendment proposes to do openly. The arguments, therefore, which have been most freely used against it, that it is an innovation and that it would deprive a large body of voters of rights they now enjoy, may fairly be pronounced worthless. They are refuted by notorious facts. What this portion of the plan of the Commission seeks to accomplish, and all that it would accomplish if it succeeded, is the creation of a better body than now exists for the supervision of city expenditures. It would, in other words, if it answered the expectations of its authors, put the city treasury in the keeping of a board of citizens of character and repute, place it out of the reach of the General Committee of Tammany Hall, which is probably the most discreditable organization which has ever controlled the government of a civilized community, and is about as much influenced by universal suffrage or by public opinion as King Koffee Kalkali.

There are two good results which the adoption of the Amendment *without* the restricted suffrage would bring about, and two only. It would put a stop to charter-tinkering at Albany and to the annual interference of the Legislature with city affairs, and might possibly thus increase the sense of responsibility of the citizens themselves with regard to municipal business. It would also stop the practice of running in debt for the current expenses of the city government. That these would be important gains we do not deny, but they might be achieved and leave the fundamental evil of municipal affairs still untouched—viz., the levying of enormous taxes, to be expended by a low class of officials in a wasteful and corrupt manner. The leading misfortune of New York to-day is essentially the same as that under which it labored twenty years ago—viz., that vast sums of money are levied from the citizens for which no adequate return is made. The streets are not properly cleaned or paved or policed; the administration of justice in its lower branches is ignorant and corrupt; the whole government is honeycombed with sinecures and jobbery, and the public works are used for the reward of party services. The Tweed Ring did not create these evils; it merely aggravated them rapidly. The Constitutional Amendment, if shorn of the suffrage section, would not cure them, and for the simple reason that a board of Finance such as the Amendment provides for, elected by universal suffrage—that is, by the constituency which elects the present city government—would be in no respect superior to the late Board of Supervisors or the present Board of Aldermen. Why should it? Its members would be nominated in precisely the same way, and its powers would be so great that the eagerness of the class of persons who now control the city government to get hold of it would be unconquerable. It would become, in short, from the very first a ring of jobbers drawn from both parties, like the old Board of Supervisors, probably most of them men without property, and animated by that contempt for property-holders which seems to be the latest fashion among American demagogues; and, worse still, it would be embedded in the Constitution.

The one hope of salvation for the city lies in bringing home to the bulk of the voters two things—first, that they are taxpayers, and, secondly, that municipal affairs are business affairs, to be managed on business principles. The election of a Board of Finance by universal suffrage will not do this. It will bring no new sentiment or idea or influence to bear on city affairs. It will not create or foster any new way of looking at them. It will not bring home to the resident workingman that he is any more interested in the proper conduct of municipal business than any tramp who begs by day and sleeps in the station-house at night. It will simply be a rearrangement of the old materials of the kind which is attempted at Albany every winter, with the difference that this one would be permanent. The plan of the Commission, perhaps, would not produce any improvement; it may be that the evils of government in a city peopled

as New York is are ineradicable; but it is quite certain, or certain as anything can be in politics, that creating a new Board, differing from the Board of Supervisors mainly in name, will make no essential change in the situation.

The flippant demagoguery of the Democratic speeches against the suffrage section of the amendment is brought into bold relief by the universal satisfaction with which the withdrawal of the prisons and canals from government by popular election is hailed by all parties. What is this but a practical and sensible recognition by the people of the State that there were some important places which universal suffrage is not fitted to fill directly? Why is there no mourning over the loss by "hundreds and thousands of estimable citizens, clerks, artisans, and young professional men," of all voice in the management of our prisons and great public works? Why should great cities be given up to the dominion of sentimentalists and ideologues any more than the penitentiaries and the canals?

#### WASHINGTON GOSSIP.

WASHINGTON, February 11, 1878.

THE debate on the Bland Silver Bill has reached the languishing point, so that one begins to hear people say that it will not amount to much whether it passes or not. Its supporters generally acknowledge that it will not relieve the existing commercial distress, and its opponents (many of them) say that, while it is a bad thing, the country will somehow survive it—business will put itself upon a gold basis in spite of silver legislation, and the present worshippers of the "dollar of the fathers" will be so disgusted with their idol after they get it that within three years they will banish it to the uttermost parts of the earth and call for greenbacks instead. The "green goddess of irredeemable paper," as the late Mr. Vallandigham was wont to call it, is the real object of adoration among the silver-men. The report of the Silver Commission itself is an undisguised plea for "fiat money," to be issued on a *per capita* basis. The Ohio inflationists, a few years ago, called for an issue of paper money equal to "the wants of trade." Senator Jones proposes that it be made equal to the census, which is still more vague; and that is what the bulk of his followers are after. I met one of them yesterday. He is a member of Congress. He is wild of eye, honest of purpose, restless of motion, and mad as a March hare. He knows just enough of political economy to be dangerous to himself and others, and he can retail till the crack of doom the theories of "fiat money" which Senator Jones and the Hon. Mr. Bland have furnished in a "job lot" in the pages of their mischievous report. I beg the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and all citizens who have anything to lose to beware of this disguised legion, who are pushing the Silver Bill only to gain new vantage-ground for greenbacks. They will be just as much opposed to specie resumption after silver is remonetized as before. They want no metallic money whatever, and no metallic basis whatever. Their strength, fortunately, is not so great as that of the Silver Bill itself, which counts among its advocates a great variety of misinformation, thoroughly honest and well-grounded in the belief that specie is a desirable feature of a permanent currency. Nevertheless, the danger will be ever present, till gold resumption is reached, that these madcaps may get possession of the Government long enough to work their theories upon the American people, and for this reason the earliest opportunity should be embraced by every man and corporation to put his or its business upon the basis prevailing in the commercial world. This is not a difficult thing to do at present, and, if the Bland Bill becomes a law in the shape given to it by the Senate Finance Committee—*i. e.*, with the free-coinage clause stricken out—there will be two or three years, while the mints are running on silver, within which this voluntary change may be effected.

I remarked that the silver debate has reached the languishing point. There are signs of weariness and of a desire for change on both sides; yet the demon of bankruptcy and threatened bankruptcy continues to lash an unwilling Congress forward to an act which a majority of members deem unwise, and which they would like to find some excuse to avoid. There can be no doubt that large and important sections of the country are crazy on this subject, and that they will continue so until a revival of business takes place, or until they get the "dollar of the fathers" and find it does them no good. Among the opponents of the bill one frequently hears it said that, but for the disastrous blow to the public credit, it would perhaps be wise and statesmanlike to let the silver-maniacs have their way, free coinage and all, in order that they might by experiment get



all such nonsense out of their heads for all future time. The fact that the public credit is inseparably linked with the measure frustrates this benevolent design, and keeps the President up to the mark (as I am fully persuaded) of vetoing the bill on its first passage. Whether it can be passed over a veto, is the standing conundrum of Washington City; but I am inclined to think it cannot. The next step of the silver-men will be to make silver legal tender to the same extent that greenbacks are. This would be equivalent to a repeal of the date of resumption, as it would precipitate a run on the Treasury for gold on the first of January next, and would cause every outstanding greenback to be presented for redemption in order to get the premium of gold over silver before the new silver dollars could be coined. Of course the Treasury, with \$100,000,000 or less of gold, could not expose itself to a draft of over \$300,000,000, stimulated by the temptation of 9 per cent. premium. It must necessarily refuse to execute the Resumption Act.

The silver discussion has temporarily withdrawn attention from the President's attitude to the Republican party, or, rather, to the Republican majority in the Senate. The conviction of Anderson and the imprisonment of Wells at New Orleans have, however, fallen like a bomb-shell in the ranks of the "visiting statesmen," and much uneasiness has been manifested in high quarters. It is generally believed that Wells will be convicted also, and that both culprits will be sent to the penitentiary. This movement, so far as one can judge from the conversation of Southern politicians, has no bearing upon the validity of the President's title, but is intended to make the alteration of election returns a costly and reprehensible trade hereafter. Nevertheless, it has stirred up many smouldering fires, and it may possibly have the effect to bring the President "into harmony" with the Republican Senators for the purpose of common defence. Such harmony would imply the abandonment of civil-service reform, the surrender of appointments to Congressmen after the old method, and a re-establishment of the "machine," which has been considerably disabled since the 4th of March last. It is not likely, however, that Wells and Anderson have any disclosures to make which will injuriously affect the President or any member of his Cabinet; for, although Secretary Sherman was among the "visiting statesmen," and may be considered their chief, he is too sagacious to leave any footprints in the company of felons. When the doors of the penitentiary close on Wells and Anderson, and the New Orleans Custom-house loses their valuable services, it will make little difference what they say by way of inculcating others, unless they can produce contracts in writing, bills of exchange, or other instruments capable of being identified. It may be safely assumed that they have nothing to show except the fact that they have been retained in important Federal offices.

The visit of Gen. Bristow to this city on the President's invitation, and the state dinner given in his honor, have no significance beyond what appears upon the surface. They do not imply that Mr. Bristow is to be offered a seat in the Cabinet, or that he is to be the Administration candidate for the next Presidency. What does appear upon the surface is the fact that the President regrets having given heed to the request of the ex-President that he should never recognize Bristow in any way, a request which was not responded to at the time it was made, but which, nevertheless, seems to have produced some impression.

The lobbying forces of the several Pacific Railroads are collecting in formidable array. The most numerous are those of the Union and Central Pacific, whose common object is called a settlement with the Government on the score of the subsidy bonds, but might more properly be styled a plan of compromise offered by a solvent debtor to obtain the profits, without incurring the risks, of fraudulent bankruptcy. The Texas and Pacific subsidy is already slain to all intents and purposes, and if its friends will now join in requiring payment in full of the other subsidy, there will be a new and notable illustration of the proverb that when rogues fall out honest men get their dues.

#### THE WIFE OF CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND.

PARIS, January 25, 1878.

**H**ENRIETTA-MARIA of France, Queen of England, is chiefly known to the present generation in her own country through the eloquent funeral oration of Bossuet. As long as the French language endures, and even if it ever becomes a dead language, the famous exordium of this oration will be remembered. "He who reigns in heaven, and on whom depend all empires, to whom alone belong glory, majesty, and independence, can alone glory in dictating laws to kings and in giving them, when he chooses, great and terrible lessons, etc. . . ." But a religious

sermon, even on the death of a woman who was daughter, wife, and mother of kings, can hardly be looked upon as an historical document. The oration of Bossuet really tells us more about the spirit of the seventeenth century in France than about Henrietta-Maria. The good Madame de Motteville speaks occasionally of her. I found long ago in the wooden boxes of the Quai Voltaire a book with this title: "Histoire de très-haute et très-puissante Princesse Henriette Marie de France, Reyne de la Grand' Bretagne, avec un Journal de sa vie," without any author's name; but I have ascertained that this book, published in 1694, is the work of a priest, Father Cotelendi. It is chiefly a homage to the religious sentiments of Henrietta-Maria and an account of her life after her return to France. In England we must cite the "Lives of the Queens of England," by Miss Agnes Strickland, and the "Letters of Henrietta-Maria," published by Mrs. Anne Everett Green. These letters are translations from the French, and Comte de Baillon gives us now for the first time their original text in a new work on Henrietta-Maria. Mrs. Green discovered these letters in the British Museum. She found there a manuscript containing copies of letters made by a person who evidently hardly knew the French language. The letters had been transcribed without any order, without any regard for the dates, nor even for the unity of each letter. Many letters, which covered several sheets, had been divided without any reference to the end or to the beginning of the phrases. The names had been replaced by pseudonyms. The copies had evidently been made by order of the queen, and the names of her best friends had been changed into those of Pym, Hampden, Essex, etc., so as to deceive the persons who might have found them.

Henrietta and Charles I. had a common cipher. The queen wrote her letters to her husband in French, and she herself made the translation in cipher, when she did not confide this care to Lord Jermyn. When Charles received the letters the cipher helped to restore the original French. The king himself always answered in English. Count Baillon does full justice to the skill with which Mrs. Green reconstituted the original letters of the queen. He has added to the previous collection of these letters in the Harleian collection copies of many letters written from 1625 to 1660, and found in the archives and collections of London, of Paris, and of St. Petersburg. He has used also a manuscript of the memoirs of Father Cyprien de Gamaches, one of the queen's almoners, who never left her for many years.

The first letter of M. de Baillon's collection is significant enough (it is in manuscript at the National Library of Paris). It is addressed to Louis XIII. on the 6th April, 1625. Henrietta thanks the King of France for his good offices in arranging her marriage with the Prince of Wales, and adds: "I give your majesty my word and my faith, in conscience, that if it pleases God to bless this marriage, and if he gives me the grace of having children, I will make no choice in order to educate and wait upon these children except of Catholic persons." She takes the same engagement in a letter addressed on the same day to Pope Urban VIII. It is well known that the Duke of Buckingham came to France to accompany the young queen to her kingdom, and that Marie de Médicis accompanied her daughter to Amiens, where she fell dangerously ill. When she recovered, the queen mother took leave of her daughter and gave her secret instructions which had been prepared by Father Bérulle, and which are kept in copy in the French archives. These instructions are chiefly religious: "Thank God every day that you are Christian and Catholic. . . . You are a descendant of St. Louis. . . . Be firm in the religion in which you have been born, for the defence of which the saint, your ancestor, exposed his life, and died among the infidels. . . . You have received, for the sake of the Holy Virgin, the name of Mary. . . . You belong to God; be always wholly his."

These first letters, these instructions, give us, so to speak, the key to Henrietta's life. Her devotion to her native country, the associations of early life, the memories of the past, all combined to estrange her from a country where she was almost immediately surrounded with enemies. She had the tenacity of her mother, and she had not inherited the elasticity and the intelligence of her father. Religion was always to her more important than politics; it would be perhaps more just to say that she only looked on politics through a religious veil. The queen refused to appear at the ceremony of the coronation on the 7th February, 1626, because she would take no part in an Anglican ceremony, and M. de Baillon is probably right when he says that from that moment she was considered as a mere foreigner, and that the English people deeply resented what it considered a mark of contempt. The Duke of Buckingham inflamed Charles against the French followers of Henrietta, and on the 7th August, 1626, Charles wrote this letter, so unworthy of a

king: "Steenie: I have received your letter by Dick Graham. This is my answer: I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town, if you can by fair means, but stick not long in disputing; otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them away, and so the devil go with them." The French followers of the queen were expelled from Somerset House in the most brutal manner. A man threw a stone at the head of the handsome Madame de St. Georges (one of the queen's favorite correspondents, whom she always calls Mamie Saint Georges), but fortunately did not wound her. Henrietta, separated from her French household, considered herself almost in exile. Bassompierre—the famous and handsome Bassompierre—was sent by Louis XIII. to the English court; the details of his mission must be read in his 'Ambassades.' His instructions obliged him to try to effect a reconciliation between Charles and the queen, and he was constantly opposed in his object by Buckingham.

Henrietta was happier after the death of the king's favorite; for eighteen years, says Madame de Motteville, she was "happy as wife, as mother, and as queen." The history of her later misfortunes is well known: in her long conversations with Madame de Motteville, Henrietta-Maria always attributed the fatal issue of the duel between Charles and the Parliament to the betrayal of the Countess of Carlisle. When Charles had resolved to arrest the "five members," he told his secret to his wife. Before going in person to Parliament he embraced her, and said to her: "If in one hour precisely you have no bad news, you will see me again stronger and more powerful than ever." He then left with a hundred gentlemen, and lost some time on his way receiving petitions from various people. Meanwhile, the queen was closeted with Lady Carlisle; after a while she imprudently said to her: "At the present moment the king is, I trust, the master in his own realm, and such and such men (naming the five members) are arrested." The countess left the apartment, wrote a letter to Pym, and sent it in haste. The king was already approaching the house of Parliament with his guards; Pym, however, received the letter in time, and he and the threatened members left before the entrance of the king. Speaking of Charles I., the queen assured Madame de Motteville long afterwards: "I have lost him by my own fault." Henrietta left England for Holland on the 23d of February, 1642. Civil war soon began, and the letters of that period written by the king and his wife became valuable historical documents. The daughter of Henri IV. could write to her husband: "Walk straight on and God will help you; if you do not take care of those who suffer for you you are lost, and if you forget them it is such a vile action that I am sure it cannot come from you. Beware of yourself, as those who speak to you with boldness are generally right in your eyes."

Madame de Motteville will always be the best authority with regard to Henrietta-Maria. You will find in the book of the Comte de Baillon the account of the scene which took place when the news of the execution of Charles I. was broken to her at the Louvre; but the venerable Father Cyprien de Gamaches writes in that peculiar religious style which envelops all human events and affairs in the same solemn generalities. Motteville is simple and more lively. She goes to see Henrietta in the monastery of the Carmelites in the Faubourg Saint Jacques, where the unfortunate widow had found a momentary asylum; she asks her if she has any message for the royal family: "As soon as she saw me she asked me to kneel by the side of her bed, gave me her hand, and with a hundred sobs which interrupted her speech, she besought me to inform the queen of her state, and to tell her that the king her lord, whose death was making her for ever the most unhappy person in the world, had destroyed himself because he had never known the truth; that she advised her never to irritate her people if she had not the power to conquer them completely; that otherwise the people became like a ferocious beast; that she advised her above all to give her confidence to those who can tell the truth and labor to discover it." Mademoiselle de Montpensier—the grande Mademoiselle—insinuates in her memoirs that Henrietta-Maria was not much moved by the terrible fate of Charles. But Mademoiselle, though she had much courage, did not show much sense during her long and agitated life. She was not the best judge of character. She would not condescend to marry the Prince of Wales, and she offered herself afterwards to Lauzun.

From the time of the death of Charles I. Henrietta's life was almost exclusively given to piety and to good works. She took no part in active politics, neither in England nor in France. She spent almost all her time in the convent which she established in a house at Chaillot, and which she bought from the heirs of Marshal Bassompierre. She visited England after her son ascended the throne. Her only object was to propose the marriage of her daughter with the Duke of Orleans. The sight

of London, of her apartments at Whitehall and at Somerset House, became a torture for her. Her health was much enfeebled after her great misfortune. She wept constantly and fell in prayer. She thanked God for having made her not a queen, but an *unhappy* queen. Her piety had become a sort of exaltation. She returned to France as soon as the affair of the marriage of her daughter with Monsieur had been arranged. The ceremony of the marriage of the young Henrietta-Anne took place at the Palais Royal the 31st of May, 1661, and Henrietta-Maria, who had always lived with her daughter, had to separate herself from her. It is wonderful to read in Madame de Lafayette's charming life of Madame, and in Saint-Simon, the account of the short career of the new Duchesse d'Orléans. One kind of martyrdom was spared to Henrietta-Maria. The words used by Bossuet in his famous oration, "Madame se meurt, Madame est morte," did not ring in her ears. She died before her daughter, without much pain, and almost passed from life to death as she would have passed to sleep, at the end of 1669. The volume of Comte de Baillon will be found chiefly valuable for its latter part, the correspondence of Henrietta-Maria, which occupies nearly half the volume.

## Correspondence.

### THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BIOGRAPHY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The 'Encyclopædia of Biography,' noticed in the *Nation* of this week, to which my name is attached, was prepared some thirty years ago, as one of a series of brief, popular "hand-books," without any pretensions to completeness. It has since been enlarged and changed, as I understand, but I have had nothing to do with it, and am in no way responsible for its publication, about which I was not even consulted.

Yours very truly,

PARKE GODWIN.

19 EAST THIRTY-SEVENTH ST., NEW YORK, February 8, 1878.

### PRESIDENT HAYES AND HIS CABINET.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your article on "The Art of Politics," in your issue of Feb. 7, you bring out an idea of great value, it seems to me, to all Presidents who, like Hayes, endeavor to carry on reform. I refer to your statement that such a President supremely needs a "united Cabinet."

The real strain upon Hayes—and it is an immense one—is essentially moral in its nature. The vital question with him is: "Have I the stability to resist the great waves of disapproval and discontented ill-will that daily roll over me from the armies of politicians?" The fearful stress and strain upon the resolution, the manhood, of a single person breasting such waves, should find relief by the support of a Cabinet that was a unit in point of purpose and sympathy. It seems to me this should be the virtual requisition upon each member of it: "Your paramount duty is to give me sympathetic, whole-hearted support in my reform measures." If a President found it impossible to gain such support for many measures, let him seek it for two or three, or even one. Let minor issues or results be sacrificed to the great ones. A President surrounded by a Cabinet thus presenting a solid front to the country, would have at hand a moral power vastly helpful to himself and vastly influential with the people.

M.

HARTFORD, CONN., February 10, 1878.

### THE WOODRUFF EXPEDITION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of Jan. 31, 1878, appears a communication, signed "Navy," warning parents and guardians from allowing the young to have their characters and morals endangered in the "Woodruff Expedition."

"Navy" refers enquirers to naval officers, and especially to those who have visited foreign ports "on a school or training ship." I am a naval officer, and have served in practice-ships visiting foreign and domestic ports, and desire to bear testimony entirely opposite to your correspondent "Navy." I know of nothing in a practice-cruise for midshipmen, or in the Woodruff Expedition for students, which will be more injurious to their moral characters than the training and instruction pursued in fitting youths for any other profession or business, unless that, perhaps, of a school of divinity.

In making this statement, I speak not only for myself, but also for a large number of officers who think as I do, and who are surprised at the unusual views held by your correspondent "Navy."

Respectfully yours,

AN OFFICER OF THE NAVY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 1, 1878.

[This case seems to be one in which an unlimited amount of testimony can be adduced on both sides, if one will only take the pains to collect it, because there will be no agreement as to what excesses and practices are dangerous to morals. The defence has the great advantage of having a strong interest in the manufacture of public opinion in its favor, whereas no one in the Navy or out of it has any personal interest in opposing it. It has been said, we do not know whether on official authority, that one of the reasons for discontinuing the practice-cruises of midshipmen to the Mediterranean was the difficulty of preventing the young men from contamination during the visits to foreign ports, and we believe that this is a case in which prudent people will take the safe side. We have, nevertheless, thought it well to submit the foregoing letter to an eminent naval officer of the widest experience, and we herewith print his comments.—ED. NATION.]

"No man sends his son from home in his early youth to a distant college, or training-ship, or counting-house, where he will be free from parental control and become a law unto himself, without the gravest concern for the temptations and demoralizing influences to which that son must be subjected. In a well-ordered training-ship, such as the practice-ships of the Naval Academy, where the greatest effort is made by judicious officers to protect cadets from vicious influences, and where the time and thoughts of the cadets are fully occupied by healthful and engrossing pursuits, the opportunities for vicious indulgence and the temptations to it are greatly diminished, and I believe that a young gentleman in a naval practice-ship, where the discipline is exact and the supervision careful, is far safer than he would be at a college or in a counting-house. In an ordinary cruising-ship, such as I served in in my early youth, the midshipmen were left with but little restraint to encounter the most dangerous temptations, and the moral risks incurred were such as might well alarm their friends. I know almost nothing of the Woodruff Expedition, and therefore can express no opinion in regard to it. As those who embark in it will pay their own expenses and be under little or no discipline, and may have no engrossing pursuit, they will encounter the temptations to which young men going far from home are subjected. So far as the practice-ships of the Navy are concerned, I fully concur in the opinion expressed by 'An Officer of the Navy.'"

#### HOW CAN A STATE BE FORCED TO PAY ITS DEBTS?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You think it can by a change in the Constitution, giving creditors a right to sue. There have been some similar, if not exactly parallel, difficulties which may be worth considering before you waste your powder on an amendment. The tenants of the Patroon, near Albany, were liable to process, yet for years they resisted the very reasonable claims on them which had, through the good nature of the Patroon, been left to accumulate too long. Process of law was found to be a worthless remedy, and compromise was successfully resorted to. To-day many communities, county and municipal, neglect to pay, and are not sued, and never will be until, like Secretary Boutwell's constituency, they grow up to the amount of their inflation and can conveniently stand it. Numberless bondholders of large railroads have waited and are now quietly awaiting payment while the railroad managers pay themselves out of the earnings for the debts to themselves which they have put upon their roads.

Why is it that these various classes of creditors submit? Simply because it costs more than they think it would come to if they sued. If a law was passed to-morrow giving retrospective right of process against the States, its only effect would be the bad one of deluding some more simpletons into lending money on the strength of it, and when pay-day came the creditor would need a long purse, an india-rubber neck, and a ball-proof jacket if he tried to issue process and sell out a State's property.

What, then, is the remedy? Some who lived in China half a century ago, before there were either English colonies there or consular courts,

remember one large business centre where no debt of any sort could be collected by law, and where the bad debts incurred were so small that they did not form an element in commercial calculation. Cannot we get a hint from this as to the true remedy?

Railroads, counties, cities, and now it seems States, have had a credit granted them which they did not deserve. Let us recognize the fact that creditors have, under any laws you can frame, a very limited remedy against any of these classes of debtors, and instead of seeking a remedy in more law, let us find it as we used to in old Canton, by giving less credit, and looking more sharply into the character and means of those we trust.

To-day trust companies, savings-banks, and other institutions, managed too much by salaried agents, have lent more millions upon inflated real estate, not worth now near the mortgages, than all the defaulting States owe. There is law enough; but to-day the inflationists are trying to water the currency, first with silver, and, when that fails, with rags, in the vain hope of giving a fictitious value to the pledged property, and thus making it nominally worth the mortgage, with a remainder to the speculators who led us into this muddle. Instead of too little law for the collection of debts, we depend too much on law already. For the past debt let us compromise with some before they get too callous to their disgraceful situation, and let us pursue dishonest corporations by combined action. For the future, let those who have accumulated capital find some safer uses for what they have left near home, among their own neighbors and those they know are trustworthy. Let them try to make the seaboard States more prosperous by using capital at home, even at low rates of interest, and let the more distant communities wait for their improvements until they can make them, if not wholly, more largely out of the surplus which they themselves will accumulate in those fertile regions now well supplied with means of communication. Silver bills, paper mills, and changes of the Constitution will be tried in vain to check the evil by one party or the other. Common sense based upon the immutable laws of political economy will some day (perhaps after more years of suffering under the quackery we resort to) come to the rescue.

As I should be torn to pieces by the fanatics for change of laws if I confessed my nationality, I take the friendly covering familiar to my ears forty years ago under the shadow of the Bocca Tigris, and subscribe myself

FAN-QUI (Foreign Devil).

#### THE POWER OF THE STATES OVER LEGAL TENDER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The meeting of merchants held a few days ago at the Board of Trade and Transportation endorsed and strengthened the position taken by the banks and bankers, that as a matter of voluntary action they will trade and transact business on the basis of gold alone. Something more than this can, however, be done, and that something very much more effectual.

During the war we heard very much about the latent powers in the United States Constitution which from time to time manifested themselves in most surprising forms. Now, let us call forth the reserved powers of the States and localize as much as possible the consequences of cheap money and dear commodities, and so let a fluctuating currency, uncertain values, and absence of commercial and financial credit—as chickens and curses are said to do—roost at home.

The Constitution of the United States says: "No State shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." This implies that the States, not the United States, shall have control of the subject of tender, as it has of all matters of contract, subject to the limitation that such tender must be "gold and silver coin."

The extent to which either shall be a tender is not set forth. Now, pray, what is to hinder all the States not affected by the silver theory from passing a law as follows?

Section 1. On and after January 1, 1879, all debts, obligations, and contracts, express or implied, shall be discharged and dischargeable only in gold coin of the United States of America, issued under Section 3,511 of the Revised Statutes, at their nominal value; and to the extent only of twenty dollars shall such debts be dischargeable in silver coin of the United States of America, issued under Section 3,513 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (trade-dollar). And such gold coin shall be the sole legal tender in payment of all debts, public or private, at their nominal value, when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided by the United States



Coinage Act, and, when reduced in weight below such standard and tolerance, shall be a legal tender at a valuation in proportion to their actual weight; and such silver coin shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding ten dollars in any one debt, if such debt exceeds such amount, and the minor coins of the United States shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for an amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment.

Section 2. All judgments, decrees, and orders of the courts of justice rendered after January 1, 1879, for the payment of money shall be payable, and the interest thereon shall be payable, in gold coin as aforesaid, except so much thereof as may be payable in silver coin, as hereinbefore provided.

Section 3. On all contracts, express or implied, or damages for wrongs to property or persons, made or committed prior to January 1, 1879, which shall come up for adjudication after said date, the courts shall reduce the currency to the value of the gold dollar as it stood when the cause of action accrued, and upon such amount compute the interest in gold.

In the case of the State of New York the following additional section would be necessary:

Section 4. Chapter 73 of the laws of 1875, entitled "An act to establish specie payments on all contracts or obligations payable in this State in dollars, and made after January 1, 1879," is hereby repealed.\*

Section 5. This act shall take effect immediately.

This would be the effectual way to answer the United States Congress in advance of the passage of the Bland Bill, and shut the door to much of its evil consequences. Every intelligent physician will, when he has a case of inflammation to deal with, try to localize its effects. Since the subject has been under discussion I have been reflecting as to the means of accomplishing such a result as to the silver inflammation. In this I have been much aided by a letter received from a determined opponent of the demonetizing of silver act of 1873, in which he made quite an ingenious argument that Congress had no power over legal tender at all.

The States which send to Congress members who believe that coining silver is a good thing can try the experiment, and grow, as the speeches of their representatives promise, prosperous upon its results. We, who believe that calling ninety cents a dollar will not make it so as to future transactions or unmake the moral obligations of past ones, may be permitted by this piece of legislation to suffer alone the consequences of our notion. Hereafter we would treat with the States who think otherwise as all nations treat with those who wilfully debase their currency, and say, "You must deal with us in our currency, not in yours." Thus, England trades with Turkey in pounds, shillings, and pence. We have localized what we believe to be a financial disease, and if our friends who now differ from us are in the right as to the expediency of the Bland measure, they get all the benefits of a silver, and we all the injuries of a gold, standard.

Of course it is idle to suppose that the Bland Bill will maintain two standards. A Western politician who has not even seen a twenty-dollar gold-piece in circulation since 1862 will admit the truth of the Gresham law, that a cheaper currency will drive out the dearer of the same nominal value, as one of the few truths, if not the only truth, comprised in that "tyrannical capitalist, bondholder, and coupon-clipper" series of inventions called political economy.

Respectfully,

SIMON STERN.

614 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, Feb. 7, 1878.

#### PROFESSOR WALKER ON BI-METALLISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "Hertzka's Translator," referring to the proposition of the bi-metallists, as he states it, "that legislation can control natural forces for definite results," adds: "Prof. Walker nowhere discusses this issue, nor does he present it to his readers." This statement, though not, I am sure, so intended, is likely to do me grave injustice if not corrected.

In fact, I start the question as to the power of a fixed legal rating to keep the metals in concurrent circulation at the foot of page 257 of my book on money; on page 258 I quote M. Cernuschi's vigorous statement of the bi-metallists' claim; on page 259 I express the opinion that "economists have been too much disposed to treat slightly the agency of law in determining the demand for, or the supply of, articles of commerce." Mr. Mill is then quoted in admission of the practical effects of

\* This repeal is made necessary because, by an unfortunate wording, the act is made to follow the course of national legislation, in the interim, upon the subject of tender.

the laws prohibiting the export or melting of the coin; and the remark is added, "But while law can do something in the way of affecting values, it cannot do everything; and what it can do is rather by way of directing or diverting economic forces than of squarely opposing their current." M. Hertzka is then quoted at length in refutation of M. Cernuschi's claim that a legal rating as wide of the market rating as 1:1 could be established in the coinage, and concurrent circulation be still maintained. On pp. 262-3 the opinion is expressed that Hertzka's refutation of the 1:1 assumption is complete; but that with a legal rating near the market rating the tendency to divergence in value might be restrained through a considerable period of time, and against considerable changes in the conditions of production of the one or the other metal. "Just so soon and just so surely as silver, for instance, tended to become cheaper, from causes affecting the supply, would the desire of every debtor to pay with the cheaper metal operate upon the demand for that metal, bringing it back towards the legal rating." Whether this restraining force would prove sufficient wholly to withstand the impulse to divergence, would depend much on the volume of indebtedness from time to time maturing, and thus creating a demand by preference for the cheaper metal. The subject is further continued to page 267, closing with a quotation from the late Mr. Bagehot respecting the scheme of the Latin Union, "which made gold and silver legal tender; which established a fixed ratio between them. In consequence, whenever the values of the two metals altered, these countries acted as equalizing machines. They took the metal which fell, they sold the metal which rose, and thus the relative value of the two was kept at its old point."

Now, all this may not attain to the dignity of a "discussion," in the estimation of "Hertzka's Translator"; but I certainly have, within the limits of my capacity, "presented the issue" to my readers, and have done so, I believe, with perfect fairness and good faith. It is very hard to be posted in the *Nation* as having dodged so vital a question when I have given to it ten pages, with the results of my best study and reflection.

My critic is much disaffected at the illustration derived from the driving-in-span of horses of different rates and styles of movement. I do not see why the illustration is not appropriate and effective. The mono-metallist asserts that gold and silver cannot remain in concurrent circulation, because each has its own sources of supply, subject to peculiar conditions, and its own demand, also subject to peculiar conditions. Hence it is unreasonable to suppose that their value in relation to each other can long remain at any one ratio.

In answer, there never were two horses of precisely the same rate and style of movement; yet horses are harnessed and driven by pairs. A pair of horses are brought up to my neighbor's door. Were they to be driven separately from here to Hartford they would probably not accomplish any one mile of the thirty-six in the same time. Even when driven together they do not, however perfectly matched or well handled, take one step exactly alike. Yet they leave my neighbor's door within a fraction of a second together in the morning, and bring up in front of the hotel at Hartford within a fraction of a second together at evening. All the way each horse has been exerting by far the greater part of his force in a direction to move the carriage forward in accord with his mate. Another part of his force, very small, indeed, in the case of well-trained horses, has been exerted divergently, in a way to check his mate and rack the carriage. Yet, if the harness, the pole, the carriage, and the driver's hand are strong enough, the horses will accomplish the journey together almost as well as if God had made them mates instead of man. Now this, as I understand it, is "controlling natural forces for definite results"; and if one man in his sphere can do this, why may not the collective might of the nation do this in its sphere?

But, says my critic, "Whatever restraint the driver exerts over the horses is won at the expense of the carriage, the harness, and the driver's arm." Granted; and I thank him for so happily completing the illustration. Each horse of the pair moves with somewhat less freedom, and hence with less force, in span than singly; just as he moves in single harness with less freedom and force than when galloping over the fields without bit or rein. Yet his being harnessed is the very condition of his accomplishing any useful purpose. So the harnessing of two horses together is at the expense of a certain loss of efficiency in each, as well as of rack and strain to carriage and harness; yet men find it for their interest to drive horses together, in spite of this initial and continuing expense.

I do not think it necessary to apply the illustration, point by point, to the case of bi-metallism, the yoking together in the coinage of two metals which have, naturally, each its distinct economic course. The

success of the undertaking will depend on the strength of the impulses to divergence, compared with the restraining power of the legal-tender principle. The latter will be more effective the larger the body of indebtedness from time to time maturing.

I cannot accept the distinction, in principle, which "Hertzka's Translator" draws between the views of M. Cernuschi and those of M. Wolowski. The difference between these two authors is wholly as to the degree of efficacy which they severally attribute to the legal-tender principle. M. Wolowski asserts for law a power to restrain the tendency to divergence between the values of gold and silver, to such an extent that powerful causes operating through long periods to produce divergence may be brought within very narrow limits in their actual effects. The wider the adoption of a legal rating, the closer the approach to absolute conformity. "Add," he says, "to the natural *solidarité* which unites the two metals called to work together in the same office, the legal *solidarité* which would result from the adoption, in common by all the civilized states, of the same ratio between the two kinds of money, and the slight oscillation to which the relative value of gold and silver has been subject these sixty-four years\* will become still more rare and more restricted."

M. Cernuschi, with less caution and less judgment, declares that any legal rating, no matter how wide of the market rating, will suffice to hold the two metals in concurrent circulation. But he appeals to the same principle to accomplish this as does M. Wolowski. The only difference between the two is in their estimate of the forces which tend to produce divergence and the forces which tend to secure conformity.

Respectfully yours,

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

NEW HAVEN, February 8, 1878.

#### SILVER MORALITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your remark that there is a thread of knavery in the silver movement in all its phases I have demonstrated to be true over and over again. This is my method: In arguing with the "silver-man," my first question is: "Are you in favor of putting into the silver dollar as much silver bullion as a gold dollar will buy?" In more than ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the answer is "No." The ostensible reason why men in the West favor the remonetization of silver is that remonetization will make a return to specie payments easier, "because," say they, "it will broaden and make firmer the basis on which the Government will stand when it shall begin to call in its legal-tender." The real reason why men in the West favor remonetization is that it will give somebody an opportunity to cheat somebody, and we fondly and foolishly imagine that we in the West are the somebody who is going to do the cheating, and that you in the East are to be our victims. Right here is the trouble. If the silver movement were merely a delusion and nothing more, it would pass away under the rays of sound argument as the mists of the morning before the rising sun. The trouble is deeper. As matters now stand, you may prove to a "silver-man" by argument as relentless as a demonstration of Euclid that the silver movement is immoral and at war with the highest well-being of the nation, and he is a "silver-man" still. The silver movement has strength because there is a low morality among the people both in private matters and public matters.

During the period of inflation, men made, or thought they made, fortunes when scaling their expenses by and basing their calculations upon the greenback as a standard. When times began to change, they still continued to spend and calculate upon the old inflation basis. The result has been mountains of broken promises and myriads of defaulters. Defaulting, cheating, and the like, because of their frequency, have ceased to be reprehensible. The man who in his larger transactions habitually breaks his promises and cheats his creditors who are at a distance, retains his place in society; he is a good neighbor and a real sociable fellow. He comes to be looked upon as not a bad sort of man, though he is a "little sharp." When this is the condition of society at large in its private dealings—and certainly this is the condition of society in the West—it would be surprising if such a society were to attain to high political morality, or be in favor of honest money. Mr. Editor, how shall this condition of things be remedied?

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER.

FORT DODGE, IOWA, January 21, 1878.

\* Written in 1868, before the demonetization of silver by Germany and the United States.

## Notes.

D. APPLETON & CO. have in press a 'History of Opinions on the Scriptural Doctrine of Retribution,' by Dr. Edward Beecher. Sheldon & Co. will shortly publish a religious novel, 'Ernest Quest, or the Search for Truth,' by Mrs. S. R. Ford. From the publishers of *Scribner's Monthly* we have received a framed impression of the head of Lincoln engraved for the February number of the magazine. The artistic merit of this portrait is considerable; and while the last photograph of Mr. Lincoln need not therefore be the best, it was, to judge from this sympathetic copy, a more than ordinary success. Harper & Bros. send us bound volumes of their *Monthly* (vols. 54, 55), *Weekly* (vol. 21), and *Bazar* (vol. 10), all for the year just elapsed. The permanent value of the *Monthly* is incontestable, and we cannot say that the *Bazar* is not worth the space it occupies on the shelf, in spite of the temporary duration of fashions. The *Weekly* holds a place between the two, but still asserts its utility in the household, if only as a never-failing source of amusement for the younger members. We have been struck again with its peculiar effectiveness in fixing in mind the political character of the period which it covers. This twenty-first volume, for instance, begins amid the echoes of the Presidential struggle, and then pictures successively the Electoral Commission, the inauguration of President Hayes, his untried Cabinet, his "policy" (before which Mr. Nast gracefully succumbs), his order to office-holders, the opening of the war in the East, the short and sharp conflict with the Nez-Pere's, MacMahon's fruitless *coup*, the silver mania, the death of Morton. Such was 1877. During the past week Houghton, Osgood & Co.'s Riverside edition of the British poets was enlarged by five volumes, embracing the ten which formerly contained Scott's complete poetical works. The plates seem to us to show much fewer signs of wear than some of the previous volumes of this excellent series. The annual report of the State Geologist of New Jersey for the past year shows how wisely that small State is governed, and what practical work the Survey is doing for the development of her great and in some respects unsurpassed natural resources. This brief pamphlet has a general interest from its chapter on the glacial drift in New Jersey. The terminal moraine of the great Northern ice-cap is minutely traced from its southernmost point at Perth Amboy (40° 30') across the State on the one hand and across Staten Island and Long Island on the other. A shaded map shows its course very distinctly. The Survey has in preparation a topographical map of the country between First Mountain and the Hudson River, on the scale of three inches to a mile. Macmillan & Co. will shortly publish a 'Life of George Combe,' one of the most philanthropic and widely-read authors in the English language, by Charles Gibbon. It will contain a fragment of an autobiography. Prof. Ten Brink's 'History of Early English Literature' is, according to the *Academy*, about to be translated into English by H. M. Kennedy, at present in Leipsic. Devotees of the ceramic art will learn with regret of the death of Mrs. Fanny Bury-Palmer, author of the 'China-Collector's Pocket Companion,' of a 'History of Lace,' and of other useful and agreeable works. She was a sister and a collaborer of Joseph Marryat, the well-known authority on china and porcelain, and of Captain Marryat the novelist.

We recently called attention to a translation of Roscher's 'Political Economy,' by Mr. J. J. Lalor, to be published by Callaghan & Co., of Chicago. Mr. Lalor has just received a letter from Roscher, in which occurs the following passage, stating his views upon free trade; it will be read with interest as defining the position upon this subject of the so-called "Historical School" of Political Economy, of which Roscher is regarded as the leader: "As in other departments," he says, "so in this, I regard freedom as the rule, from which any one who asks for an exception has the burden of proof against him. Therefore, in cases of doubt freedom should always be taken for granted. But in practice there are exceptions—very few at advanced and at the same time flourishing stages of culture, but in yet undeveloped or decaying nations more numerous in proportion as they are further removed from the highest stage of development." It is proper to add that Roscher's views on this subject are not contained in the original work, but will be given in the forthcoming third volume, of which he is to furnish two chapters (on International Trade and Paper Money) as appendices to Mr. Lalor's translation.

Cassino, of Salem, who is in the way of becoming a publisher as well as an agent for naturalists, has promptly brought out the second part of



Professor Eaton's 'Ferns of North America,' the character of which is well sustained. On the first plate the rare and ambiguous *Asplenium ebenoides* figures—rather too stiffly—by the side of the common ebony spleenwort, *A. ebenum*. As to its conjectured hybrid origin, we doubt if it has a particle of the blood of the latter, or of the walking fern, in its free veins. The three little moonworts are well rendered, and the woolly-lip fern is best of all. Mr. J. Williamson sends us specimen-etchings (of the rare bristle fern) which are to illustrate a popular hand-book of the Ferns of Kentucky, to be published in May by J. P. Morton & Co., of Louisville. The figures are not bad.

—The *American Almanac* for 1878, edited by Mr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, the efficient Librarian of the National Library, and published by the American News Co., deserves more than a passing mention. Mr. Spofford's resources for the compilation of such a work are almost unapproachable, and in the main we can praise the judgment with which he has selected his material. The book opens with a very readable account of the history of almanacs, which is presently succeeded by an elaborate description of the national capital that would serve very well as a tourists' guide. Of the rest of the contents we shall only be able to enumerate the more novel or important features. The Constitution of course is given, and a list of the members of the 45th Congress, with the committees; also, tables of the several Presidential elections, by electoral votes and by popular vote in each State; a brief history of national political conventions, and an historical sketch of the electoral system of choosing the President, from which last it appears that the Convention disapproved almost unanimously of an election by direct vote of the people, but voted three times (once unanimously) to give the election to the two houses of Congress; once to a body of electors chosen by the State legislatures; and finally to electors chosen as these legislatures might order. The executive officers of the United States; the personnel and fees of our consular service; and foreign legations in this country, are usefully named. Commercial and financial statistics are abundantly provided. Exports and imports, internal revenue receipts for 1833-77, railroad statistics, a chapter on "Strikes, Past and Present," tables showing the price of staple commodities for the period 1825-77; commercial crises in England during the present century; the English tariff (shade of Protection even as mitigated by Fernando Wood!) printed on a single page, and not filling that with its twenty-two articles; municipal indebtedness and taxation, 1866, 1876, showing an "increase of debt, about 200 per cent. average, of annual taxation about 83 per cent., of valuation about 75 per cent., of population about 33 per cent.," the Bank of England and its discount rate from 1694 to 1877; the Bank of France and how the milliards were paid; the British debt; the price of Government loans in London, December 1, 1877; the U. S. currency-value of gold, and gold-value of currency, 1862-78—such are the chief matters in the above-mentioned departments. Among "burning questions" of the day postal savings-banks, the income-tax, and metallic currency occupy a large space. In giving a history of the income-tax Mr. Spofford betrays the only bias of which we can confidently accuse him. He unquestionably thinks the tax ought to be restored, and adduces this communistic argument: "It is evident that only about a million of the population [the 250,000 taxpayers and their families] were interested in having the tax repealed, while the remaining 29,000,000 out of 40,000,000 of people in the United States were interested in having it maintained." Mr. Spofford does not explain what he means by "interested," nor does he cite a single consideration bearing on the reasonableness of the opposition to the tax. Not so when he narrates the history of demonetization, when he gives the arguments *con*, with a voluminousness that must surprise those bi-metallists whose stock in trade is "surreptitious" and "Shylock." He also gives the arguments *pro*, and we cannot positively say what his own convictions are—as ought to be the case. In connection with this exposition, Mr. Spofford furnishes important statistics of the coinage of the U. S. mint, tables of the gold and silver product, of silver fluctuation, and national bank circulation; and other facts relating to the currency, including a history of the Latin monetary union.

—The first annual report of the Virginia Commissioner of Agriculture marks an era in the history of that State. The department over which he presides was created only last year, and the duties imposed upon him bear the usual relation to the compensation which the rural mind everywhere thinks sufficient for scientific services. The Commissioner is allowed a salary of \$1,500, and is expected to edit a hand-book of the geological formation of the several counties; to superintend the analysis of fertilizers, and to try as a judge manufacturers whose compounds fall

below their pretensions; to look after diseases of the crops and report remedies; to "have in charge the mining and manufacturing interests" and establish a cabinet of minerals duly "labelled and arranged" for "public inspection"; to encourage horticulture and fruit culture; to report on the dairy and on the culture of wool, and "give his attention" to irrigation and the subject of fencing; to distribute seeds, etc. He is allowed a clerk at six hundred dollars, one thousand dollars for the purchase of chemical apparatus, and the department is credited besides with \$1,900 (in all \$5,000 per annum) for contingent expenses, including the pay of a chemist and geologist! Dr. Pollard, whose bonds are fixed at \$10,000, does not make a wry face over this adaptation of means to ends, but goes bravely to work, doing the best he can. On page 11 he remarks that he is "reliably informed that a proper geological survey of each county in the State would involve an expenditure of from thirty to forty thousand dollars," and that as Dr. Ruffner, the accomplished Superintendent of Public Instruction, has made *en amateur* a great many field notes and geological sections, and offers his material freely to the department, it would be well if he could be made an assistant without prejudice to his regular duties, and with the mere payment of his expenses. The report is a summary of the vast half-developed resources of one of the most favored States in the Union, and imperfect as it confessedly is it is one of the best hand-books for emigrants we have ever seen. But one thing is lacking, and that is a statement that Virginia intends to pay every farthing of her honest debts. Perhaps that can be prefixed to the next report.

—The chapter on labor in Virginia is perhaps the most significant in the report. Dr. Pollard says it has become too much the custom to denounce the negro as thriftless and lazy, whereas the true Southern policy is "to elevate and encourage this race in every proper manner, not to debase and abuse it." He adds from his own experience as a farmer under both régimes, of slavery and freedom, "that the negro, if promptly paid and fairly dealt by, is as good a laborer as he ever was"; and that, while some will not work, "the majority of them, and enough to till the lands," will; and he concludes with this interesting comparison:

"An argument used against negro labor is that white hands accomplish most work. This is more than doubtful. In the report of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture, Charles L. Flint, Secretary (we forget the volume), will be found an account of the cost per acre of cultivating corn and other crops in that State, with a statement of the number of days it took to pull the fodder and cut the tops of an acre of ground, how long to plough the crop, and how long to hoe it. At the time of reading the report we made a calculation, in connection with another farmer, of how long it would take to accomplish the work here in Virginia, and came to the conclusion that our negro hands would do more work per day than the white laborers of Massachusetts."

—New York has sustained a serious, and in some ways irreparable, loss, in the death, on Saturday evening, of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, when the President recently nominated for the collectorship of this port. He was during the war, though then a young man—he has died at forty-six—one of the most indefatigable supporters of the Government in every way but service in the field, and, above all, a constant promoter of all schemes for the alleviation of the suffering and distress arising out of the war. He devoted himself during the greater part of it to the collection on behalf of the soldiers, and under their orders, of the sums allotted by them from their pay for their families, and saw that it reached them without loss or expense. Ever since 1865 he has been a leading aid of all the best charities in the city. The Children's Aid Society had no more liberal friend and faithful worker, and it is safe to say that there is hardly an organization for the promotion of any great public interest, philanthropic, or artistic, or scientific, for which he has not labored diligently and energetically, paying both with his purse and person without stint. His success in raising money for public purposes was very remarkable—we remember hearing one gentleman say, half jocosely, that Mr. Roosevelt's absence on a short European trip would save him \$1,000—and of course it would not have been possible if he had not himself been ready to head every list handsomely. Inherited fortune, as well as his own success, enabled him to retire early from active business, and indeed gave him largely the control of his time when in business, and he brought into his service of the public a soundness of judgment and a freedom from illusions which to many enterprises were of inestimable value, but which never cooled in the least his own hope or courage. In fact, it is a rare thing for any modern city to have such a citizen, and rarer still for one with so much devotion to the public service to make so few mistakes. He was not himself a man of high culture, but nobody was more keenly alive to its value or readier to re-



spend to its demands, and we believe the mere fact that New York could even in these later evil years produce him, and hold his love and devotion, has been to hundreds of those who knew him and watched his career a reason for not despairing of the future of the city. He was, too, physically so vigorous and manly a man that there was every reason for believing as well as for wishing that he would reach old age; and his untimely end, in the midst of everything that could make life attractive, is perhaps as striking a reminder as his friends could receive what shadows we are and what shadows we pursue.

—If the historical literature of 1877 is distinguished in any department it is perhaps in that of the biography of historical characters, of which there appears to be an unusual number. Two works are devoted to Simon de Montfort—that of Prothero and the translation of Pauli. Of more modern characters there are Ewald's 'Life of Sir Robert Walpole'; Rinke's 'Memoirs of Prince Hardenberg'; Lodge's 'Life of George Cabot'; Mazade's 'Cavour'; Trollope's 'Pius IX.'; and Pierce's 'Life of Charles Sumner.' Sime's 'Life of Lessing' may also be mentioned; and Villari's 'Machiavelli e i suoi tempi' is a work of great importance—the first volume, the only one published, reaching the year 1512. In the same field as the 'Life of Cabot' is Prof. Adams's 'New England Federalism'; and the period of another of these biographies, that of Walpole, finds excellent illustration in Dr. Doran's 'London in the Jacobite Times.' Knight's (Catholic) 'Life of Columbus' is also praised as a careful and scholarly work.

—The study of primeval history has also received important contributions in McLennan's 'Studies in Ancient History' (containing his valuable papers on primitive forms of marriage) and Morgan's 'Ancient Society,' a work which stands in the first rank in this field. Squier's important work on 'Peru' may also be mentioned in connection with these. On early history we have the first volume of Brugsch's 'Aegypten unter den Pharaonen.' There is not much else of the highest value in ancient history; but Mason's 'Persecutions of Diocletian' (rehabilitating that monarch) is of great merit, and Hirschfeld's 'Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte,' though rather in the line of antiquities than of history, is nevertheless indispensable in the history of the empire. A second volume of Kremer's valuable 'Culturgeschichte des Orients' has appeared. We will note also the third volume of the translation of Ihne's 'History of Rome,' embracing from the Second Macedonian War to the capture of Numantia (B. C. 133).

—The most important work in mediæval history is Perrens's 'Histoire de Florence,' of which the three volumes published reach the year 1300. Not history, but materials for history, is Janaseck's 'Origines Cistercienses' (vol. i.), containing a copious collection of documents illustrating the history of this most interesting of the monastic orders. A previously unknown chronicle of Adam of Usk (1377-1404) has also been brought to light and published; it is very important for the reign of Richard II. The second volume of Skene's 'Celtic Scotland' is devoted to the Church and Culture. Mr. Froude's papers on Becket in the *Nineteenth Century* deserve also to be mentioned. For students of genealogy and chronology there are Grote's 'Stammtafeln' (408 in number), to which is appended a 'Calendarium mediæ ævi.' There are also two valuable republications: Finlay's 'History of Greece' since the Roman domination, in seven volumes, and the first volume of Green's 'History of the English People,' enlarged and provided with notes, etc. Wattenbach's 'Geschichte des römischen Papstthums' is also mainly confined to the Middle Ages. Hertzberg's 'Geschichte Griechenlands,' covering nearly the same ground as Finlay's, is brought down (in vol. iii.) from 1470 to 1321.

—Two companion works, somewhat opposed in their point of view, Freeman's 'Ottomans in Europe' and Creasy's 'Ottoman Turks' (a republication), belong, like two or three of those just mentioned, to both mediæval and modern history. Another republication is Dyer's 'Modern Europe,' in five volumes, brought down to the war of 1870. Of the first rank in modern history is Gardiner's 'Personal Government of Charles I.,' extending from 1628 to 1637. The second and third volumes of Kitchen's 'History of France' complete the work; it is especially good in political history. Vuillemin's 'Histoire de la Confédération suisse,' by a veteran Swiss historian, is perhaps the best brief history of that country, and would be a very good book to translate into English. For the early part of the sixteenth century we have Philippson's 'Heinrich IV. and Philip III.,' and the second volume of Gindely's 'Thirty Years' War'—especially valuable as being from a Bohemian pen. A new work of the Heeren and Ukert (and Giesebrecht) series is Hillebrand's 'Modern France,' of which the first volume was noticed by us last week. The tenth volume of Taxile

Delord's 'Second Empire' completes the work (the author has died within the year). Parkman's 'Count Frontenac' is the most important work in the field of American history. Lastly, we will mention the first volume of Friedrich's 'Geschichte des vaticanischen Concils,' extending to the year 1869; and, as a companion, Cardinal Manning's 'True Story of the Vatican Council.'

#### SCHLIEHMANN'S MYCENÆ.—II.\*

WHEN we say that the treasures found at Mycenæ may safely be assigned to the heroic age, we are still far from assigning a definite date either to them or to the age itself. "The heroic age" means the indefinite period before the Dorian invasion, when the forms of government and the civilization described in Homer prevailed in Peloponnesus. At present we have no means of settling the date even of the Dorian invasion, which, indeed, was probably a long and difficult struggle rather than a triumphal march. The line between the Homeric civilization and the Dorian is nevertheless a very marked one, far more definite, indeed, than any positive date could be in so wide a field. We have now an unexpected and welcome view of the art of a most interesting age, one whose legends have played a greater part in the world's education than those of any other, but which, as an historic period, was supposed to be for ever buried in oblivion. It is too soon to begin to be dogmatic about the lessons which this discovery teaches in the history of art. It is enough for the present that Homer is now amply justified in his accounts of works of art with which the Achæans were familiar, and that we are now sure that Agamemnon could have found in his treasure-chamber at Mycenæ all the arms and ornaments with which he is said to have arrayed himself for battle. Even if nothing has been found equal in design and beauty to the shield of Achilles described in Homer, still we have enough to show that the poet was not drawing a purely ideal picture entirely beyond his own experience. The intercourse of the heroic Achæans with foreign lands, which the traditions (our only authority) constantly indicate, renders it more than probable that no small part of the best works of art found in Mycenæ may have been either directly imported from abroad or made at home by foreign workmen. The Phœnician traders doubtless brought to Greece whatever articles were likely to be bought by the Achæan princes, to whom they thus opened the rich markets of Assyria and Egypt. The first chapter in Herodotus tells of Phœnician merchants landing in Argos with Assyrian and Egyptian wares, and the well-known kidnapping and slave-trading propensities of the Phœnician race (witness Io and the two women kidnapped from Egyptian Thebes, Herod. ii. 54) may have made it as easy for the Achæans to import artisans as works of art. Nestor had in his employ a man, called both a goldsmith and a coppersmith, named Laerkes (Od. iii. 425), but we have no hint whether he was a Greek or a foreigner. That some articles of ornament were made in Mycenæ itself appears from the stone moulds there found, which were evidently made for casting gold and silver (pp. 107-109). As most of the ornamental gold-work is *repoussé*, it was easy for inferior workmen to produce good work by the use of artistic forms. The whole question of the relation of the art of Mycenæ to foreign art will gain much light from the study of the new treasures which General di Cesnola has brought home from Cyprus. This island, in which Greeks, Phœnicians, Assyrians, and Egyptians were in close intercourse at a very early period, now suddenly assumes a new importance in the history of art and in ethnology. We may pride ourselves as Americans that we now have in our country the most ample materials for studying this new subject; and we may also notice with satisfaction that Dr. Schliemann appends to his name on the title-page of 'Mycenæ' the title, "Citizen of the United States of America."

Every one will notice the rudeness and childish simplicity of the bas-reliefs on the sculptured tombstones compared with the more artistic work in gold and silver. Compared even with the sculpture of the Lions' Gate, the figures on the tombstones surprise us by their primitiveness. On the other hand, Dr. Schliemann (p. 85) calls special attention to the "marvellous accuracy and symmetry" which he finds in all the spiral ornamentation of these tombstones, which shows that they are not careless or unstudied attempts of beginners. Sculptures are more likely to be the work of native than of foreign artists, and perhaps these may

\* 'Mycenæ: A Narrative of Excavations and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns. By Dr. Henry Schliemann, Citizen of the United States of America: Author of 'Troy and its Remains,' 'Ithaque, le Péloponnèse et Troie,' and 'La Chine et le Japon.' The Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P.' Maps, plans, and other illustrations, representing more than 500 types of the objects found in the Royal Sepulchres of Mycenæ and elsewhere in the Excavations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.

prove to be the most genuine Achaean productions that have been found.

We have already described the manner of burial practised at Mycenæ, especially the partial cremation, and contrasted it with the Homeric accounts of burning the dead (see the *Nation*, No. 603). It is singular that the Greek poets after Homer sometimes call a tomb *νεκρά*, or *funeral-pile* (e.g., Soph. El. 901). This is now explained by the Achaean custom of burning the dead, so far as this was done at all, within the tomb itself, and leaving the remains undisturbed after the extinction of the fire.

We now recur to the interesting question which we postponed, whether there is good reason to believe that Schliemann has discovered the actual bodies of Agamemnon and his fellow-victims. What has been said will, we trust, do something to show how far this question admits of an answer. First, it is plain that these magnificent entombments must be placed in the heroic age, in which the names of Agamemnon and his family are conspicuous above all others. Secondly, none but royal personages of the highest dignity and of the greatest wealth could have been buried in such state. We are, therefore, compelled to believe that these remains and these treasures were buried during the most flourishing period of the Achaean monarchy of Mycenæ—that is, at about the time which tradition assigns to the Trojan wars. When we ask, further, whether this does not make it highly probable that these are the remains of Agamemnon and his friends, we have to reply that there is no evidence that can bear the test of scientific scrutiny leading us to so definite a conclusion as this. We are here dealing with a class of facts entirely different from those which establish the two conclusions stated above. In the first place, we cannot feel justified in maintaining the historic character of even the Homeric story of the murder of Agamemnon and Cassandra. We know how that story grew from the Homeric foundation, under the hands of lyric and dramatic poets, into the elaborate tale of horrors which we find in the 'Oresteia' of Æschylus; and who can tell how much it grew during the generations of epic bards which preceded the Homeric age? Again, we are by no means justified in believing that the only kings of the Pelopid race who reigned at Mycenæ were the two sons and the grandson of the founder, especially when that founder was the grandson of Zeus. The tendency of legend to concentrate upon a few famous names the history of many generations of unknown kings who died and left no name, is well known; and we may reasonably suppose that the meagre royal annals of Mycenæ are no exception to the rule. Indeed, the fifteen adults whose remains were found in the five tombs of the Agora, not to mention the three problematical children, far more than exhaust the whole list of important royal personages with which the legends of Mycenæ supply us, especially when we exclude Clytemnestra and Ægisthus. While, therefore, it is fair to conclude that these fifteen or more persons were all of the royal race and of the golden age of the monarchy, they are as likely to have been persons unknown to fame as the particular legendary personages whose names were saved from oblivion by the poets.

But it will be said that we have the express testimony of Pausanias that in the second century A.D. he was shown at least the sites of certain tombs at Mycenæ which were believed to be those of these very heroes. What now is the account of Pausanias? He says (ii. 16) that there is a tomb of Atreus, and tombs of Agamemnon and his companions. The one of Cassandra (he says) is called in question by the Lacedæmonians of Amyclæ; but there is a distinct one of Agamemnon, one of his charioteer Eurymedon, and a "single tomb" for Cassandra's twin infants, who were slain with their parents by Ægisthus. It is doubtful whether he adds that there is one of Electra, the text being very uncertain. This shows a belief among the local guides, probably from Argos, in five, or at most six, tombs. But this meagre tradition had no conception of the five tombs in which fifteen royal princes and such immense treasures are now found buried. The fact that Pausanias speaks of "the same tomb" as containing the two infants shows that he understood the others to hold single persons. Now Atreus, Agamemnon, and possibly Electra, are the only persons in his list who could possibly have been buried in such royal state. As to the twin infants, their very mention shows how utterly the local traditions had abandoned the whole story of Cassandra as it is told by both Homer and Æschylus. It is plain, therefore, that Pausanias heard at Mycenæ very much such a story as we should expect, about certain tombs which no one had seen for centuries, buried in the ruins of a city which had already been destroyed six hundred years, and containing the bodies of men who were supposed to have lived at least twelve hundred years before his time. Tombs, as well as other relics of heroes and demigods, were as common in Greece as those of saints are in modern Europe.

Pausanias himself saw at Argos the tomb of Linos, son of Apollo; the finding the colossal body of Orestes filling a coffin ten feet long, and its removal to Sparta, are well known; the Theseum, now standing in Athens, is a monument erected over a huge skeleton, believed to be that of Theseus, which was found in Seyros with a spear and sword by its side, and brought to Athens in 408 B.C. by Cimon, son of Miltiades. Among the sacred relics seen at Delphi by Pausanias was the stone which Kronos had swallowed in the belief that it was the infant Zeus; and among the treasures stolen from the temple by the Phocians in the time of Demosthenes were the necklaces of Helen and of Eriphyle, the latter having been one of the wedding presents of Harmonia, wife of Cadmus and daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. Such was the value of Greek tradition attached to tombs and relics. In the case of the tombs of Mycenæ, strange to say, the truth has turned out far more wonderful than the fiction. But the fiction is none the more authentic for having erred for once in this direction.

What seems to be the strongest proof of the "Agamemnonian hypothesis" (as Mr. Gladstone terms it) is the supposed evidence that at least some of the persons buried in these tombs were murdered. When the evidence is sifted, the proof of murder will be found to rest chiefly on the statement that one, at least (perhaps all three), of the bodies in the First Tomb was buried "in strange and indecent fashion," a man more than six feet tall being squeezed into a space only five feet and a half long. The insult to the illustrious dead seems to be admitted on all hands. But let us examine this flagrant outrage. The tomb was hewn from the solid rock, 21 ft. 6 in. long, and 11 ft. 6 in. broad. This ample space was lined on all sides by a stone wall 3 ft. high and 2 ft. broad, and over this was built "a slanting wall of schist plates joined with clay," 6½ ft. high, projecting at the bottom a foot more than the stone wall, thus narrowing the breadth of the tomb by three feet on each side, and reducing the breadth of 11½ ft. to 5½ ft. (p. 294). Now, even if we suppose the mummy which was found squeezed into this space to have once been Agamemnon, and admit that he was murdered, are we to believe that Clytemnestra would have had these two stone walls, about 66 feet long, built around a tomb merely for the purpose of adding a last insult to her royal husband by squeezing his head between his shoulders? Could not all the horrors of that "human slaughter-house" devise some simpler means to so small an end? If, on the other hand, the murdered king was buried in a tomb in which these walls were already built, all proof of personal insult is gone. We would suggest that a simple solution of the mystery may be found if we suppose that this wall was built, not to insult the dead, but because the bodies were to be buried in a half-sitting posture, with their backs or their heads and shoulders resting against the slanting wall. We know very little about the position in which the other bodies in these tombs were buried, as they have all crumbled to dust except a few scattered bones; and what we do know does not agree with what we find in Homer about the burials of the heroic age. In the Third Tomb were found three bodies (of women, as Schliemann thinks, p. 164) "literally laden with jewels," one of which had upon its head the splendid gold crown, the gem of the collection (p. 185), and another wore a "magnificent golden diadem" (p. 186). Is it not at least within the bounds of probability that bodies thus crowned for burial would be placed in a partly erect posture? As this tomb had its walls artificially narrowed like the other, we are bound to assume the same insulting motives here also; and as all six of the tombs are thus narrowed (two, however, having perpendicular instead of slanting walls), we should carefully consider at the outset how far this outrage theory will lead us. It is now a remarkable coincidence that thirteen of the fifteen bodies in these tombs were buried with their feet to the west; and it may have been a reason for elevating the head in burial that thus the hero was made to turn his face towards the West, that region of romance and hope, where were the "Happy Isles," which Hesiod makes the home appointed after death for the "divine race of heroes who are called demigods," the very race whose tombs have now been opened. "These live, with minds free from cares, in the Islands of the Blest by the deep-eddy Ocean; happy heroes! for whom the fruitful earth thrice in the year bears in rich abundance its delicious fruits" (Hesiod, 'Works and Days,' 158-172). If this theory is tenable, it explains the "outraged" condition of the single body which is preserved, without any assumption of violence except that which the downward pressure of from twenty to thirty feet of earth and stones would naturally inflict in three thousand years. Such a pressure would squeeze the head of a body inclined as we have supposed between the shoulders precisely as this head now appears, and would also cause the mask which covered its face to be jammed down over the eyes like the one now found (p. 323).

Indeed, what has seemed strangest in the present condition of this mask is this appearance of having been subjected to an angular rather than a perpendicular pressure; as Schliemann says (p. 311), "The lower part of the forehead has been so much pressed upon the eyes and nose that the face is disfigured." At the same time the nose and mouth and one of the eyes are perfectly visible, which could hardly be the case if the pressure upon the face had been perpendicular. It must be remembered that the body itself was reduced by the tremendous pressure "to a thickness of 1 in. to 1½ in." (p. 295). If, now, it had been lying flat on the floor of the tomb, could the mask exhibit its present appearance?

Until further evidence is found, we are inclined to the belief that the tombs of Mycenæ contained the bodies of royal persons whose names are unknown to us; that, although possibly some of them may be among those who are mentioned in the heroic legends, there is as yet absolutely no proof of this; that there is no evidence that any of these persons were murdered, or that any of them were buried in an insulting or ignominious manner; that these royal tombs were closed and covered with earth at least before the Dorian invasion; that the knowledge of the treasures buried in them, originally confined to a few trusty persons, gradually died out, and was extinct long before the Argive conquest; that this ignorance of the true character of these tombs saved them from pillage (except, perhaps, on a single occasion) while Mycenæ was deserted; and that Pausanias heard only the vague tradition then current in Argos, that *there were tombs* in Mycenæ attributed to Atreus and to Agamemnon and his fellow-victims. Finally, we believe that Dr. Schliemann has made the most important contribution of the present century to Greek archaeology.

#### RECENT POETRY.

THOSE who are eager to see the muse of America produce epics lofty as her snow-clad mountains, vast as her rolling rivers, and equalling in several other ways several of her other natural features, may point with some pride, at last, to the Michigan poem entitled "Teuchsa Grondie" (Detroit: E. B. Smith & Co.). Physically measured, it fills an octavo volume of nearly five hundred pages; it is divided into twenty-eight cantos, each dedicated to a different friend or group of friends, the last canto being inscribed to the whole citizen soldiery of the United States. It is written by Levi Bishop, Esq., of the Detroit bar; and aims to tell the complete legendary history of that city. If epic art consists chiefly, as some critics of Milton have maintained, in the unstinted use of high-sounding proper names, then neither Milton's list of fallen angels nor Homer's catalogue of ships can be held equal to "Teuchsa Grondie." How can mere Greek or Hebrew appellatives compete with these Indian names that roll so freely from Mr. Bishop's pen?—

"The chiefs and sachems understand  
And soon obey the high command.  
The fiery warrior Is-ke-dah  
Is coming with black Ka-gah-gee;  
The spider chieftain—Sub-be-kah,  
With lordly bison—Pez-be-kah,  
Sage Ke-ko-ko-ho rolls his eyes,  
And comes with quiet Che-to-walk;  
Loud Shan-go-dah the foe defies  
And comes with serpent Ken-na-beck,  
And Wa-be-no-ka proudly moves  
With seignior chiefs of mighty name;  
These stately Mus-ko-dosa greet  
With others now unknown to fame" (p. 375).

We should say, however, that if Mr. Bishop could get even this moderate number fairly established on fame's rolls, he would accomplish something. It is a tale of war that the poet tells, varied by pestilence, famine, hunting, missions, and dreams. Teuchsa Grondie is an Indian village, whose supposed history from 1565 to 1665 is here laboriously given. The village life was gay, it seems, though it had to forego some of the delights of cities:

"No horses grazed that paradise,  
For servitude or proud review;  
And, hence, no 'Running on the Ice,'  
Or racing 'On the Avenue'" (p. 14).

Indeed, the environs of the woodland village could scarcely be called attractive, as thus painted, at nightfall:

"The owl whoops out a doleful note,  
The frightened cubs in terror whine,  
No more sweet Win-on-als-a-sings;  
Unnatural wolf-howls whilly float,  
The evening star forgets to shine,  
The pappoose to its mother clings" (p. 31).

The crowning battle-piece of the book opens as follows:

"What earthly comfort can compare  
To that which comes on glided wings  
As round us gathers black despair,  
And hope anew upon us springs?"

Ah, listen! On the northern plain  
Loud bursts the war-whoop from afar;  
Ah, welcome, Kan-ne-tow, again!  
Thrice welcome, brave Tak-go-mega!  
The Hurons rush upon the field—  
The friends of ruined Matchedash;  
And with them fearless Wyandot;  
A hero every man appears:  
Ho-de-no-sun-nee, die or yield!  
Now comes the final thunder-crash;  
Now trample, laughing O-to-quot!  
Ah, Teuchsa Grondie, quell your fears" (p. 42).

It reads like a battle of philologists—Max Müller and Fitzedward Hall pelting each other with hard words—or like Bret Harte's scientific society upon the Stanislaus. What "chunk of old red sandstone" could be a missile so fearful as this discharge of Otoquots and Matchedashes? Yet we seem to miss here the name, previously celebrated, of Ko-ko-ko-ho, an appellation so irresistibly suggestive of Branger's "Co-co-coquérrio." Perhaps it is the self-same warrior, or he may be a myth of all nations, and may originate in the domestic barn-yard. At any rate, by turning back a few pages, we find that the hero is already sunk beneath the flood of battle, and not likely to reappear:

"Into the flood fierce Do-ka-tee  
Is thrown by Wa-be-no-ka brave;  
The Iroquois, with demon glee,  
Drags Ko-ko-ko-ho to the wave" (p. 421).

But we must pass to other themes, only remarking incidentally that late researches prove the Indian race not to be dying out after all, so that Mr. Bishop's epic may yet prove only the precursor of a long line of similar octavos.

'Leedle Yawwab Strauss, and other Poems,' by Charles F. Adams (Boston: Lee & Shepard), is a volume differing from Mr. Bishop's in this, that it is intended to be funny, and loses through that evident design. It is the unconscious humor that is irresistible. This book contains many short poems, mostly in German dialect; it is copiously illustrated, and has a portrait of the author, who thus visibly disclaims identity with an eminent statesman bearing a similar name. We should predict for this book great popularity in England, where every American book that exhibits a grain of fun is caught up eagerly for some railway library of "American Humor." Since these collections already cover the whole range from 'The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table' to Josh Billings, it would seem hard if there were no place for little Jacob Strauss.

'Album Leaves,' by George Houghton (Boston: Estes & Lauriat), has the rare merit of containing not a single poem that extends to more than a single verse. Both this and 'Verses by L. B. T.' are thin volumes of quiet rhymes, printed doubtless "by request of friends," and not also inspired, let us hope, by that hunger which Pope couples with such requests as a twin motive. 'Poems of the Old South, illustrated' (Boston: W. F. Gill), is not a book to fire the tardy zeal for the preservation of that relic; for though it contains two or three good poetic names on its title-page, yet neither poetry nor illustrations can be said to rise much above mediocrity. But when we remember how few really good lyrics were called forth by the war of the Rebellion, why should we expect more from the pending contest for the Old South?

There is a tendency in this country to the production of long and rather ambitious poems. Mr. S. P. Putnam's 'Prometheus' (Putnam) has really something of grandeur in its conception, but is crude and unequal in execution; and one has to turn back, every now and then, to the preliminary "argument" for the key. We there find that "in the evolution of Life Jove represents the beginning of the power of Free Will, but Free Will seeking solely self-aggrandizement. Prometheus symbolizes Moral Insight; Venus, Asia; Apollo, Love, Reverence, Imagination without Moral Insight." The scope of the poem suggests Horne's 'Orion,' which had, however, a single fine line in it. That would be too strong an expression to apply to this book; but it has some fine thoughts, and that is saying something.

'Angelo,' by Stuart Sterne (Hurd & Houghton), is an effort less ambitious than the poem just mentioned, and is more successful in proportion. It is founded on the loves of Michael Angelo and Vittoria Colonna, and shows much power in conception and execution. The tone is pure and noble, though the great sculptor sometimes laments his fate in too many words, and the heroine, on one occasion, tells a lie with too great facility. The versification is commonly smooth, though too often broken by halting lines, like these:

"From off Marietta's pretty lips, like to" (p. 63).  
"The lustre of her golden hair, shading" (p. 32).  
"Others bending their swifter steps in haste" (p. 6).

The action goes clearly and resolutely on to its climax, with few conceits or ornaments by the way; and the most graceful special passages



grow directly out of the main narrative. Thus, it is the sudden interruption of Vittoria's approach that makes Michael Angelo's hand tremble, and gives us this glimpse at the artist's work :

"He swiftly put the quivering chisel down,  
Lest one more stroke, too hastily made, should turn  
The delicate moulding of the cupid's lips—  
That looked as from sweet flowers they just had sipped  
Fresh dew and honey, and curved gently upward  
As with the sunny smile of happy dreams  
Into the downward lines of drooping sadness" (p. 79).

The newspapers say that "Stuart Sterne" is really Miss Gertrude Bloede. Be this as it may, this writer has certainly given evidence of real poetic power, but is likely to suffer, like all our younger poets, from winning praise too easily.

It is impossible not to feel respect for the dramatic poems of Mr. Edwin Leighton, jr., they are so honestly and faithfully worked out, and show withal some such genuine traits of dramatic power. In "At the Court of King Edwin" (Philadelphia: Lippincott), as in "The Sons of Godwin," there is a strong and well-devised plot, and we are led along, step by step, with real interest. But the interest is mainly in the plot itself; the speeches are sometimes dull, the wit is not brilliant, there are few original images or detached thoughts, and there is, indeed, little to help us by the way. All this suggests the doubt whether it is a safe thing for even a man of ability to begin with long poems, instead of first training hand and ear by shorter ones. The name of the book naturally recalls Sir Henry Taylor's "Edwin the Fair." The king is a different Edwin, and there is a difference of a few centuries in the period; yet a comparison is possible. There is really a stronger grasp in the American poem, but in all other respects it is inferior—less readable, less varied, with fewer special passages to enjoy; while the lyrics, which in "Edwin the Fair" are fresh and graceful, are here tame and wooden. We should be inclined to prescribe to Mr. Leighton a studious cultivation of the lighter aspects of his art, even if this involves abstinence, for the present, from long dramatic poems.

We have from England a little volume whose thoughtfulness and grace might well merit a wider fame than the author has yet attained. It is "A Sheaf of Verse," by Henry G. Hewlett (London: King). Among the most attractive of these poems should be named a series of twelve sonnets on the twelve months, a poetic calendar, which, being based on the English climate, may be said to make the best of extremely poor materials. In dealing with June the author has greater advantages, and we quote that sonnet :

#### "JUNE.

"An English wife, whose passage o'er the line  
That severs maid from matron leaves its trace  
In wiser innocence and chastened grace;  
With queenly eyes, love-loyal, frank, benign,  
That warm unheating, and unglittering shine;  
A touch of cool, bright color on her face,  
A shape that curves half hide and half disclose—  
Figures our June, the summer's resting-place,  
Promise is perfected without excess;  
The leaf fulfilled, the bud not overblown;  
The beams of noontide in this kindly zone  
Bless and burn not; half-tints of pink and pearl  
Shimmer from wild-rose cluster, woodbine-whorl;  
The wavy woods are dim for leafiness" (p. 40).

Another book to which one can turn with hearty pleasure bears the rather quaint title "Firm Ground: Thoughts on Life and Faith," by George McKnight (Sterling, N. Y.). There is something strange and refreshing when we receive from a quiet country village, without the aid of any city publisher, a book so rich in thought as this. The author is understood to be a young physician. The mottoes to his hundred sonnets show him as a reader of the best authors, but his thoughts are absolutely his own. In his series of sonnets he has worked out many of the hardest problems of the age, and always with a sweetness and candor that win our love; while his bold touches often carry us to the very heart of thought, though with a perpetual tendency to the larger and more hopeful view. And sometimes, though more rarely, there are really fine imaginative touches, as in the following sonnet, which will bear much study :

#### "DEATH THE RENEWER.

"'Twas in far ancient days it did befall:  
The forms of Nature, filling all the space  
Of their abode, had lost their youthful grace;  
The years were sadly withering great and small.  
And when the gods met in their council-hall  
To choose out one among their mighty race,  
Who should renew the faded earth's wan face,  
None could perform the task among them all—  
So strictly do the laws of Fate restrain  
Each to his proper work—save one alone:  
Death felt the arduous duty was his own.  
Therefore, the sacred synod did ordain,  
And for all time was passed the high decree,  
That Death thenceforth should the Renewer be" (p. 70).

It is easy to say of Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton's poems (Boston: Roberts) that their prevailing tone is of monotonous and tender melancholy; but there are few ballads of the war as genuine and touching as "A Woman's Waiting"; and among the more personal poems there is a great range of excellence. Some seem merely literary and almost artificial, while in others it is impossible to mistake the real human emotion. The lover in the poem of "Looking Back," for instance, is so painted in four lines that he becomes a real person to us; and the sudden stab of the last couplet deals his death-blow :

#### "LOOKING BACK.

"I may live long, but some old days  
Of dear, deep joy akin to pain—  
Some suns that set on woodland ways  
Will never rise for me again—  
By shining sea, and glad, green shore,  
That frolic waves ran home to kiss,  
Some words I heard that nevermore  
Will thrill me with their mystic base.  
O love! still throbs your living heart—  
You have not crossed death's sullen tide.  
A deeper deep holds us apart—  
We were more near if you had died—  
If you had died in those old days  
When light was on the shining sea,  
And all the fragrant woodland ways  
Were paths of hope for you and me.  
Dead leaves are in those woodland ways—  
Cold are the lips that used to kiss;  
'Twere idle to recall those days,  
Or sigh for all that vanished bliss;  
Do you still wear your old-time grace,  
And charm new loves with ancient wiles?  
Could I but watch your faithless face,  
I'd know the meaning of your smiles" (p. 75).

Mr. Stedman's new volume, "Hawthorne, and other Poems" (Osgood), shows that careful literary execution which should always win the respect of contemporaries, even while the poet's place in the hierarchy of genius is yet undetermined. The ode on Hawthorne, especially, is a brave flight of song, and has many touches of eloquence and of careful discrimination. It labors under that slight flavor of remoteness and out-of-placeness which seems now almost inseparable from the form of the ode. Hard as it may be to say why this particular mode of literary structure should grow obsolete, there is always a vague suspicion of the fact. This mars the reader's satisfaction, as when reading a poem in hexameters. After all there is a sense of relief in turning to the minor poems, although none of them may in this case yield quite so much as the ode. The most musical lines in the volume are doubtless to be found in the "Song from a Drama," beginning

"I know not if moonlight or starlight  
Be soft on the land and the sea,  
I catch but the near light, the far light  
Of eyes that are burning for me" (p. 56).

This gives a hint of Swinburne, but it also recalls a song of Mr. Stedman's own, which appeared in an earlier volume, and far surpassed Swinburne in delicate and tender feeling—the song called "Stanzas for Music" and beginning

"Thou art mine, thou hast given thy word."

That song is, to our thinking, the high-water-mark of this poet up to the present time. It should be added, in respect to the volume before us, that it gives several specimens of Mr. Stedman's translations from Homer and Æschylus, and they exhibit so much talent in that direction as to increase the regret that his version of Theocritus remains unfinished.

But, after all, when we turn from the best of these other volumes to the collected poetry of Holmes (Osgood: Household Edition) we may well profess to have come back to "firm ground" once more. Here is at least a secure literary foothold; effective execution, inexhaustible wit, and tact that rarely fails. The extraordinary brilliancy that has now for a half-century kept this author's occasional poems and *vers de société* above all other American work of the kind—ending in England no rival except in the short-lived career of Præd—still holds its own unquenched, as the recent Whittier dinner showed. The only source of regret is that these delightful trifles have now so multiplied that in turning the leaves of the volume we find the more serious poems almost submerged, though it is after all on those that the solid fame of the poet rests. Lowell once wrote of Pope: "Measured by any high standard of imagination, he will be found wanting; tried by any test of wit, he is unrivalled." This limitation can never be justly made in the case of Holmes; but the hasty or careless reader of this book might be disposed to make it. He should, indeed, read the book carefully twice; once for the humorous poems, and again, leaving them rigidly out of sight. He will find in the smaller series of this winnowed selection a wealth of imagination, of beauty, and

of tenderness. Among all these serious poems, we suspect, "The Chambered Nautilus" will stand out as conspicuous as Bryant's "Waterfowl" on the pages of that older poet; and had Holmes written as little as Bryant his reputation might have been as great. It seems a hard decree, but an author's fame, after all, depends hardly more on what he gives than on what he withholds.

*Report of the Commissioners to Manage the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big-Tree Grove (1877).*—Within the limits of sixteen pages Mr. Ashburner, the Secretary of the Commission, gives a succinct and clear account of the discovery and occupation of this far-famed valley, of the establishment of the reservation, the origin of the commission, and a history of its troubles in securing possession. To these we need not now refer, possession being at length complete, and the faithful guardian from the first, Mr. Galen Clark, in charge. The Commissioners now "desire to secure the services of a competent engineer—one familiar with the laying out of parks—for the purpose of having a careful survey and plot made of the Valley, with reference to its being gradually improved according to some definite plan. On this plot roads and trails which might be necessary in the future would be laid down, and reservations made for hotels, stores, and other houses where they would least interfere with the landscape and beauty of the Valley." They also propose that the private rights in the trails, upon which heavy tolls are now charged, should be bought up; and every visitor to the Valley will agree that this is desirable.

As the Commissioners intimate that the task, which they have well fulfilled to the limit of their ability, has been a somewhat thankless one, they may not favor a proposition for the increase of their charge. But as we note that the "Mariposa Big-Tree Grove" has been managed without anxiety, we are bound to suggest the establishment of two other small reservations of a similar kind. These are: 1. of a square mile or two of *Sequoia gigantea*, or Big-Tree forest, in the King's River district, where these gigantic and unique trees, instead of occurring in detached and very limited groves, intermixed with and much outnumbered by other trees, are said to constitute whole forests. A patch of this forest ought to be sacredly preserved. Considering their situation, and the great and ever-increasing demand for lumber, it is probable that these forests will soon be attacked, and in time share the fate of their kin the Redwood. 2. Not many years ago a similar reservation of Redwood, *Sequoia sempervirens*, could have been secured, almost in the neighborhood of San Francisco, without expense or conflict with any private interest. Now, all the most available forests of this noble tree—second only to the Big Tree of the Sierra Nevada in hugeness, and superior in beauty—have been appropriated, and the process of demolition is fearfully rapid. It would be useless, and indeed senseless, to complain of this. The lumber is most valuable and is much needed. Still, by going farther north, to the interior of Mendocino Co., or even to Humboldt Co., large tracts of unappropriated and magnificent Redwood forest may be found, a square mile of which could well be spared for the purpose now, and would be an inestimable bequest to posterity. Will the Big-Tree Commissioners, or the State of California, take this matter in hand?

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
census of the State of New York for 1875.....	(Albany) 1 50
Clark (Dr. C. C. P.), The Commonwealth Reconstructed.....	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 1 50
Daudet (A.), The Nabob.....	(Estes & Lauriat) 1 20
Foster (Dr. M.), Text-book of Physiology.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 6 20
Gill (W. F.), Life of Edgar Allan Poe, 4th ed.....	(W. J. Widdleton) 1 75
Hall (H.), American Navigation, swd.....	(D. Appleton & Co.) 1 50
McDaniel (H. F.), and Taylor (N. A.), The Coming Empire: Texas.....	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 1 50
Manual of Nursing.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00

## Fine Arts.

## ELEVENTH EXHIBITION OF THE AMERICAN WATER-COLOR SOCIETY.

## I.

ALREADY this young and enthusiastic society, in the dozen years of its existence, has conquered a place of note in American, and we may say in international, esteem; for its members and their works have forced the attention of certain intelligent explorers among the French and English and Italian connoisseurs, and commanded that sort of curiosity which in matters of civilization is victory. When an expert out of the earliest water-painting school in Europe declares, without a thought of flattery, that our Society is more advanced than his native Society—as a London expert readily did on the opening night—it is at least a sign that the time

has come when we can invite comparative analysis. The fact is that the eclectic study which has been the habit of this generation of our artists tells much sooner on a light and rapid mode of painting than on a more solid one. The pictures which we are beginning to put in our churches, the statues and historical pieces which our Government and our States are beginning to command, and our more elaborate easel-pictures, are still very lacking in Americanism, in solidity and vigor. But in the kindly opportunity offered by water-color painting we already display very gracefully the American quickness of taking a hint; and our artists, who have long been acutely conscious of all that was best in the practice of the various foreign schools, are now able to reflect directly the lustre of the best teaching with a sincerity which the absence of any clanish *parti pris* has but helped enormously.

It is true that our water-color painters are so few in number that they are obliged to admit many contributions of a low standard in order to cke out an exhibition; but the difference in style between the handful of genuine students and the conventional workers who exhibit alongside is so great that the practised eye can treat the impertinences of the latter almost as if they were invisible, and the successes of the real artists are frequent enough to give a prevailing tone that quite dominates the exhibition.

Perhaps no contributions have had quite so much *éclat* this year as the absence of certain contributions. The always-unexpected Mr. Homer, so certain to do something that nobody could have anticipated and that no inferior artist could do, this season does nothing. He produced last year some powerful effects of the blotchy order, some abrupt eulogiums of Japanese fan-painting, some cries of irreconcilable color, that excited the liveliest attention of the public. We believe that none of those who so readily celebrated the originality of these striking works expressed their gratitude by acquisition, and the leader of the invading school has withdrawn into his tent to ponder on the bad faith of the champions of bric-à-brac. Certain foreign contributors, however, have planted the standards and the disturbed colors of the orientalist, and the Exhibition does not quite lack the peculiar and stimulating accent which it was the wont of Mr. Homer to confer on the yearly display.

We observed among the saving works of the Academy's collection the pure and healthy landscapes of R. Swain Gifford. "The Salt Vats at Dartmouth" (258), by this artist, are painted with a direct, transparent, temperate vigor that is the merit and the justification of water-color. The atmosphere, apparently represented by one uncovered sweep of the brush, is exquisitely fluid and breathable. The sense of uncontaminated open-air nature wraps the whole picture. Aquarelle here seems to resemble the photograph in its contempt of half-measures, its direct fidelity to what is in the field of vision, and its just poise of values. The color is of wholesome sweetness, and the composition, in which the tent-like sheds of the salt-works make a pyramidal series over a low sea-side plain, has a quaint charm. A similar easy sincerity distinguishes the little idyllic bit, "Early June Day on the Coast" (442); here is simply a squarish boulder under a bush; but the sun which is warming it is the real June sun struggling with coolness, and the winnowing air is potable. Art thus understood is like those systems of philosophy in which matter does not exist in its own solidity, but in our sensations. For the painter, such a rock, such a tree, and such a cloud-sprent sky are not evident by their substance, but by their privilege of expressing the diaphanous fluidity of light and ether. A false theory of art would have cleared away the air and arrived at their hardness. Mr. Gifford also sends a composition, a Venice scene (17), in which the intention to give pleasure is more evident, more deliberate. In this vibration of fluttering painted sails, and bubble-like cathedral domes, and soaring campaniles, and bronze lion-wings, all melting in the warm gold of a Venetian afternoon, his painting shows the deliberate voluptuousness of a true Venice collegian. The picture seems to want to suggest all it can, and to tell of the colors of Veronese and Robusti that are behind the walls of the Ducal Palace. There is a sense of apparatus; but the ambitious dash towards a more complicated satisfaction of the color-sense is well taken; the painter's strength does not fail him, nor trip itself up, in the more pompous work. In the elaborate "Venice," as in the dewy Yankee landscapes, there is perfect self-possession and singleness. In all his pictures of this year the artist seems to lay, if we may so express it, the thin peeling of painted air which defines what we see of an object in its purity upon the paper, without any linings, thickenings, or patches.

Mr. Richards, astonishing as his trained hand ever is, can hardly be said to show at his best in the large colored boards he has latterly been covering. The Conant coast-view (363) will serve as an instance of

what we mean. It is a surprisingly clever piece of scene-painting; it was executed in four days, though the dimension—some five feet across—would seem to demand weeks of toil when the precision of the workmanship is taken into account. There is a secure determination towards largeness of stroke, along with a studied composition and a careful focussing of the high-light. The result is a fine drawing, decidedly hard. Mr. Richards gives no evidence of succeeding in dashes at grandiose landscape in the style of a Rubens. The admiration of his spectators has never been fascinated by feats of grace, or intoxicated by feats of vigor, but rather educated by feats of microscopy. In his greater works the wrinkled hills of the middle ocean have been diagrammed and protracted and surveyed, as they are by the instantaneous photograph. This scientific method of analysis is what has made his fortune. His hand, a little cramped, or perhaps, rather, free within definite restrictions, will not soon become graceful or flowing. Enormous ability is shown, it is true, in great solid cartoons like the "Conanicut." But it is a burgher-like and commonplace prospering; the happy surprise which the spectator would get from inventiveness and fire is altogether wanting, while inventiveness and fire are just what is demanded in great feats of strength executed in four days. His little "Coast-view" (170), with a wrinkled sea perceived far beneath the feet, its crape-like surface furrowing in finer and finer corrugations, while the burnishing path of the sun obliterates their roughness in the middle portion and contrasts with the craggy rocks in front, is in the vein for which this artist has always been admired, and will please the whole of his large and faithful following of disciples.

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ASSETS.	
Real estate owned, market value.....	\$1,137, 23 18
Loans on mortgages.....	2,345
Loans on collateral.....	317, 70 6
Loans on policies.....	1,562, 81 18
Premium notes.....	8,111
Stocks and bonds owned, market value.....	2,000, 00 00
Cash in banks.....	2,000, 00 00
Special deposit at New Orleans.....	2,000, 00 00
Interest and rents due and accrued.....	2,000, 00 00
Net amount uncollected and deferred premiums.....	41
	\$14,466,920 53
LIABILITIES.	
Death losses due and unpaid.....	0 00
Endowments due and unpaid.....	29,048 00
Death losses in process of adjustment.....	61,258 00
Death losses resisted.....	23,412 00
Net premium reserve.....	12,553,850 00
Distributions unpaid.....	157,399 74
Premiums paid in advance, unpaid bills, etc.....	7,577 16
	\$12,841,841 90
Total surplus.....	\$1,625,078 63

## ITEMS NOT ADMITTED.

Loans secured by renewals.....	\$5,000
Bills receivable.....	4,000
	\$9,000

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Fire assets.....	\$7,963,445 20
Total liabilities.....	2,841,420 33
Surplus.....	\$5,122,024 87

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Liabilities.....	2,191,769 49
Surplus over all liabilities,	\$1,768,131 51

Total income of 1877.... \$2,713,059 32

Total expenditure of 1877.. 1,603,916 79

Surplus income of 1877.. \$1,109,142 53

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